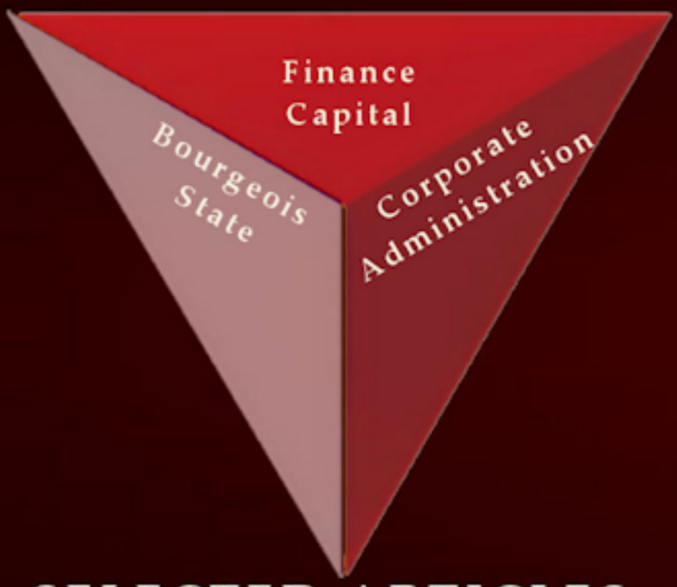


SELECTED ARTICLES

Journalism In Bourgeois Society

Myths of Bourgeois Journalism

Disinformation & Deception Techniques

N. Zasursky
I. Beglov E. Anikeev
C. Andrunas M. Vlasov
V. Sharonchikova V. Urina D. Kulman
I. Galuwko Y. Kotenok A. Golovanova Y. Orlov
G. Ibragimov M. Kurguzova S. Kustova F. Telen

Svitlana M, Erdogan A

Selected Articles

On

Journalism

in

Bourgeois Society

Disinformation and deception techniques

Myths of Bourgeois journalism

Original Referenced books selected for the articles are Edited
by
Professor Y. N. Zasursky

Svitlana M, Erdogan A

Articles are selected from three books by "Thought" Publishing House Moscow

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Originally, most articles, partially, as a synopsis, translated early 1980s by Comrade Lana for the group of Journalism Students she was a part of. Remaining selected sections have been translated by a hired translator. Articles have been organized , categorized , edited, and combined in one book.

As always it is a free book with the hope that it may be useful for the students of Journalism and for those who are interested in the subject.

Most statistics and examples are excluded and marked (…)

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Journalism in Bourgeois Society

Introduction -1976

Y. N. Zasursky

Modern state-monopoly capitalism has carried to its extreme limits the fundamental contradiction of capitalism—the contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist method of distributing the products of social labor. Under these conditions, in the capitalist countries, the role of various forms of suppression of the masses of the people is growing - first of all, military and resulting militarization, which is accompanied by the merging of the army and monopolies into the military-industrial complex; police, leading to the strengthening of the functions of the coercive apparatus of the FBI and CIA; ideological, meaning the expansion of the entire information and propaganda system, including bourgeois journalism.

The ties between the bourgeois state and the monopolies are becoming ever closer, their activities are intertwined, and this creates a special form of power when it is in the hands of the state and the monopolies. One of the important weapons of state-monopoly capitalism is bourgeois journalism. It is from this point of view that it is necessary to consider its place in modern bourgeois society.

Our study includes five monographs. This book is devoted to the following issues: monopolies and journalism, the bourgeois state and journalism, bourgeois parties and journalism, the church, and bourgeois journalism. At the same time, the main attention is paid to identifying the levers and mechanism for managing bourgeois journalism by the monopolies and the bourgeois state.

The next four monographs will consider more particular aspects of this problem: bourgeois journalism as an information and propaganda complex of modern state-monopoly capitalism and all the components of this complex separately - television, radio broadcasting, print, news agencies, advertising agencies, public relations, government propaganda organs and their interaction, various aspects of their activities aimed at manipulating the consciousness of the masses in the interests of the monopolies. Then, in a separate monograph, the technique of the activity of the bourgeois press, the technique of disinformation and manipulation, will be considered and criticized.

One book will be devoted to criticism of the content of bourgeois propaganda, illusions, myths, and false ideas - that spiritual dope that the bourgeoisie imposes on its peoples and brings its journalism to the masses.

Finally, the study will be completed by a book that criticizes contemporary bourgeois theories of journalism. Considering the place of journalism in bourgeois society, we observe in the process of historical development a constant strengthening of the control of capital, which, as the power of the bourgeoisie grew, was combined with the control of the state.

Let's start with the origins of bourgeois journalism, dating back to the 17th century. Then bourgeois journalism was in opposition to the rule of the feudal lords, defending the right to exist.

D. Milton during the English bourgeois revolution of the 17th century. made a thesis about the freedom of the press from royal power. Thus arose the bourgeois concept of freedom of the press - freedom of the press for the bourgeoisie. It was directed with its edge against the feudal conception of the press, which is sometimes called authoritarian.

The essence of the latter was that the seal remains in the hands of the king as a means of controlling his subordinates, the king is a god on earth and the voice is the voice of God. The king issued patents for the publication of newspapers, and the newspapers were supposed to serve the interests of the royal power. Thus, the feudal system of non-economic coercion was also used in the press. The press served the feudal state, the monarchy. The third estate - the bourgeoisie - was deprived of the right to publish newspapers. With the intensification of its political activity, the bourgeoisie begins to demand permission to publish newspapers representing the interests of the third estate, and it calls the struggle for the right to have its own press a struggle for freedom of the press. Naturally, it was not about universal freedom of the press. And Milton, advocating freedom of the press, had no doubt that it was for those who had the means to publish newspapers, but were deprived of this right.

The bourgeois theory of freedom of the press was directed against feudalism and absolute monarchy, and from this point of view it overthrew their basic foundations. In contrast to non-economic methods of coercion, she put forward freedom of action for rich people: since they have money, they can publish newspapers of their choice, naturally, to promote bourgeois ideas.

Consequently, the slogan of freedom of the press was progressive in the 17th century, since it was aimed at liberation from the fetters of feudalism, but it had a class, bourgeois character. In proclaiming it, Milton also spoke of the need to limit the freedom of the press to the interests of the class he represented.

The class essence of the bourgeois theory of freedom of the press came to the fore with the assertion of the rule of the bourgeoisie. When a new category of people stood out within

the third estate - the working class, which had nothing, but claimed its share of the wealth, as Marx said in 1842 in the article “Communism and the Augsburg Universal Gazette”, the bourgeoisie not only did not give him freedom press, but also harassed and repressed the publications of his organizations.

The class essence of the slogan of freedom of the press was quite obvious from the very beginning, and its orientation against the freedom of the press for the proletariat, the democratic sings of the people, was clearly defined already in the middle of the 19th century. and especially noticeable during the publication by K. Marx and F. Engels, the League of Communists of the "New Rhine newspaper" and other newspapers and magazines. It turned out that the communists practically did not have the opportunity to publish their newspapers due to lack of funds, and when they found them at the expense of collections among the workers, at the expense of great sacrifices, the bourgeoisie deprived them of the right to publish their newspapers, as it did in Germany, accepting exclusive laws against the socialists.

During the American Civil War, the activities of the bourgeois press provoked a protest among the rank-and-file abolitionists. Influential circles of the bourgeoisie of North America were not interested in the decisive defeat of the southern slave owners, they advocated a compromise with the South. The majority of the American bourgeois press, with the exception of a few newspapers, supported this position of conciliation and refusal to emancipate Negroes from slavery. In the north of the United States, there has been a gap between the opinion of the democratic strata of society and the judgments of the bourgeois American press. President Lincoln refused to sanction newspapers that criticized his policy of fighting the South decisively. Then in many cities of the

country, ordinary readers dissatisfied with the actions of the press - workers and farmers, representatives of the democratic strata of society organized a boycott of these newspapers, and in some cases literally destroyed their editorial offices, considering their support of the southern slave owners as a betrayal of the interests of the people.

In this case, the points of view of President Lincoln and ordinary Americans did not coincide. Lincoln, who professed bourgeois freedom, considered it acceptable to publish newspapers during the Civil War that advocated compromise with the slave-owning South. The people of America rejected such freedom of the press and by their actions demonstrated their rejection of it, advocated a press that would reflect the interests and opinions of the broad circles of Americans. Such publications as the New York Herald Tribune, in which K. Marx and F. Engels were published, enjoyed great support from the population.

The further development of bourgeois social relations and bourgeois journalism further demonstrated the foreignness of the bourgeois principle of freedom of the press to the interests of the working masses.

At the beginning of the XIX century. machines were invented that made it possible to publish newspapers in large numbers, counting on a wide audience.

Newspapers began to be used to a large extent for product advertising, which was their main source of income.

It became possible to sell them below cost, at a very low price of mass production, available to the general reader.

Newspapers became commodities, and this exposed the essence of the bourgeois concept of freedom of the press, based on the right of the wealthy to publish commodifiable

newspapers and receive all the profits they could give. In this case, the economic foundations of the bourgeois press coincided with its ideological functions - to serve the interests of its class. This led to the end of the XIX century. to the transformation of bourgeois journalism into one of the main areas for the investment of capital and, at the same time, into the most important instrument of ideological pressure on the masses, their stupefaction and deception.

This process took place in the USA, Great Britain, Germany, and France.

Since bourgeois newspapers have exposed their class and commercial character, and publishing has become part of capitalist production, all the laws of bourgeois economics have been extended to the activities of newspaper and magazine enterprises that produce printed products.

First of all, it is the law of monopolization, concentration of production. At the end of the last century and at the beginning of this century, the first newspaper trusts began to be created: Pulitzer, Hearst, Northcliffe, Hugenberg, and others. Further development of this process led to the fact that in the middle of the twentieth century. The press, radio broadcasting, and television in the capitalist countries were essentially completely in the hands of the largest monopoly concerns. The dependence of the media, which require large capital investments, on the magnates of capital became even clearer.

The discrepancy between the theory of freedom of the press and the reality of the bourgeois world has become blatant. It was obvious that freedom of the press did not even exist for all representatives of the bourgeoisie, but only for the richest. Talk about freedom of the press, which long ago turned into pure hypocrisy in the conditions of bourgeois reality, does not

even justify itself as a form of cover for the true, class character of the press in bourgeois society.

In the United States in the 1940s, a new bourgeois concept was put forward regarding the position and place of the press in society, which was called the theory of social responsibility of the press. It was intended to replace the decrepit theory of freedom of the press. Although the latter exists as an independent theory, and until now the majority of bourgeois journalists profess and propagate it as the main one in the activities of journalism, the inconsistency of this theory is so obvious that in fact it can only be applied to an inexperienced audience as a demagogic slogan, obviously not corresponding to reality.

The authors of the new concept - bourgeois journalists and theoreticians, recognizing that there is no real freedom of the press in the United States, came to the conclusion that it is pointless to talk about it, but it is possible to achieve such a situation that monopolists limit their influence on the media and bring their actions in line with the interests society, that is, so that they not only determine what to write to newspapers, what to report to radio and television stations, but also feel their responsibility to society. The theorists also proposed the creation of special institutions that would control the activities of the media.

The emergence of the new concept raised several significant and important questions. First of all, the very advancement of the theory of social responsibility of the press emphasized the absence of this social responsibility in the bourgeois world and, at the same time, the untenability of the theory of freedom of the press. In this regard, it became necessary to think about how to exercise control by society over the media.

Words about social responsibility became very fashionable in the world after the Second World War. The defeat of fascism raised the authority of socialism, communist ideas, the communist press, which frankly says that it serves the socialist society. This authority was especially strong in countries that had freed themselves from fascism and cast off the shackles of colonial slavery. The authors of the theory of social responsibility, taking into account the new trend, tried to give greater respectability to the bourgeois press, which, in their opinion, should take care of society, and thereby make it more acceptable for countries in which the process of liberation from fascist rule was taking place, as well as for peoples. following the path of decolonization. Perhaps, at the same time, some of the theorists believed that the introduction of a certain control over the activities of the press by the state could limit the arbitrariness of the monopolies.

Finally, one more point. If we analyze how the theorists of social responsibility intended to exercise control over the press, it is not difficult to come to the conclusion that in many cases it means only the consolidation of the class positions of the bourgeoisie in the activities of the press through the intervention of the bourgeois state in it. For example, in the United States of America, the social responsibility of the press to society must be controlled by the president and his cabinet and ministers. How do they understand this responsibility? The presidential chair, as well as the ministerial one, in the United States is occupied by representatives of big business and those who faithfully serve them. And naturally, their control over the activities of the press strengthens even more the influence of the big monopolies, which is carried out with the help of economic levers. In this case, this influence must also be reinforced by the state, which is called upon to reason with that monopolist who can act to the detriment of other monopolies.

This is how state-monopoly capital controls the press by both economic and non-economic methods. And the creation of special bodies to control the press essentially tightens it up and thereby almost eliminates the possibility of press opposition. In this sense, the theory of social responsibility approaches fascist theories in journalism. The Bulgarian professor S. Stanchev cites the statement of the Italian fascist theoreticians of journalism, who in 1942 also wrote about the social responsibility of the press to the fascist Italian state. And here it was about responsibility not to the people, but to the monopolies, which held in their hands the levers of government.

Whatever the subjective intentions of the authors of the theory of social responsibility, its zealous supporters most often turn out to be far-right figures, such as former US Vice President S. Agnew, who became famous for attacks on American newspapers and journalists who opposed the Vietnam War. It is clear that the essence of this theory, despite its outward respectability, turns out to be very unattractive - a cover for the further enslavement of the press by capital, which even makes it difficult to make public intra-class differences in the camp of the bourgeoisie.

In support of the theory of social responsibility of the press, bourgeois theoreticians also put forward a new concept about the place of a journalist in society. Instead of the slogan of freedom of the press, which they consider unrealizable today, the slogan of freedom of the journalist is put forward.

Today, says Professor J. Leauté, head of the international center for higher journalism education in Strasbourg, it is absurd to say that every citizen of France has the right to freedom of the press. It is not feasible. Therefore, it is necessary to “delegate” this right to journalists. This theory is

called the theory of freedom of the press for the journalist, it is also called the theory of the journalistic elite.

When J. Leauté was asked whether there are any democratic procedures in France that allow journalists to be empowered to exercise the right to freedom of the press, he replied that there are none, but journalists should be given these functions, and if they perform them in good faith, that would be, in his opinion, the freedom of the press for journalists. This is essentially a version of the theory of social responsibility of the press. It is necessary to achieve such a situation, said J. Leothe, so that the owners of newspapers, magazines, radio stations and television companies rent out their property to journalists who will conclude an agreement with them that they will publish newspapers, television programs, and the owners will receive profits. Then, he argues, it will be possible to have the best press, because rich people, monopolists, have the means to create the best working conditions for journalists, and journalists, having received these funds, will do everything to make the owners of the press, radio, and television get rich.

So, when a newspaper or other press, television or radio organ is rented out, the condition is that they must be profitable. This item looks innocent at first glance. But since the problems of profitability and profitability are decisive, the owner of the media retains the right to control his income. And if the activity of journalists leads to a drop in the income of the owner or to their disappearance, he has the right to terminate the contract with them and hire other journalists who will provide him with a profit.

But how to make a profit? It is achieved primarily by publishing the largest number of advertisements in the newspaper. Who is advertising? The big and petty bourgeois are representatives of the capitalist class.

And if they feel that it makes no sense to give advertising, they will refuse it, especially if this or that medium tries to preach ideas that do not suit the advertisers, the capitalists. Thus, the very principle of economy, profitability of a newspaper, radio, and television channel leads bourgeois journalists to serve the class interests of advertisers.

Consequently, the conversation about the freedom of a journalist turns into another demagogic device under capitalism, which is used very intensively. They talk about the need to have highly educated professionals, the elite of journalism. In this case, they want to cover up the class nature of the activities of journalists with such talk about qualifications. But when the demand for profitability appears, it immediately reveals the main quality of bourgeois journalism - to serve the capitalist.

The theory of freedom of the press for journalists reveals its inconsistency when confronted with the realities of the world of capital. The history of the creation of such companies, societies of journalists, which conclude agreements with newspaper owners, is especially indicative. For example, the society of editors of the Le Figaro newspaper entered into an agreement with its owner, Prouveau, a textile manufacturer. However, this did not prevent him from selling the newspaper, along with all the journalists, in 1975 to another owner, Ersan.

The conversation about the freedom of a bourgeois journalist, as we see, turned into an elementary fiction. In addition, journalists in bourgeois society are themselves a category that is quite clearly defined socially. They are basically people of bourgeois views. Their education in the spirit of bourgeois ideology is carried out from the school, from the university bench.

A journalism student in a capitalist country is usually a conservative person. During the student riots in 1969 in the United States, students of the faculties and departments of journalism, as a rule, did not take part in them. It is only very rarely that people of progressive views manage to seep into the ranks of students or teachers of faculties or schools of journalism, but in these cases, they have a hard time there.

The experience of modern class struggle shows that bourgeois journalists play in it a very unsightly role of servants of big capital. This was the case in Chile. Bourgeois journalists are part of the mechanism of propaganda in capitalist society and in this sense, they carry out the class positions of the bourgeoisie.

The world of capital instills in the bourgeois journalist what V. I. Lenin called bourgeois-merchant literary relations. This journalist is attached to the capitalist machine, and his careerism, the desire to please the bourgeois public opinion, the bourgeois public demand from him, as V. I. Lenin said, pornography in frames and pictures. Even 75 years ago, in the article "Party Organization and Party Literature", V. I. Lenin wrote: "Down with superhuman writers!", Emphasizing that journalistic careerism and individualism only cover up subservience to capital. *See V. I. Lenin. Full coll. cit., vol. 12, p. 100.*

With the slogan of the freedom of the journalist, bourgeois theoreticians seek to disguise the dependence of the press on big capital, but for bourgeois journalists there is only the freedom to sell their work to the owners of newspapers, radio broadcasting and television, the freedom, in the words of V. I. Lenin, to be "public men". And here is the opinion of newspaper owners who are offered to use the theory of freedom of a journalist. At a discussion in Strasbourg, the representative of the Springer concern said that his owner

could not waive his right to be also a journalist and to carry his own point of view, which corresponds to his interests, in the newspapers belonging to him. He does not understand why he should transfer this right to someone.

Thus, the owners of newspaper-magazine and radio-television concerns are by no means inclined to encourage the concept of freedom of journalists, they are more comfortable with the freedom to hire journalists for themselves.

The theory of the journalistic elite, which is now widely promoted, proceeds from the recognition of the monopoly of big business on the media and serves only as a cover for the subservience of bourgeois journalists to their owners.

The true freedom of a journalist is connected with serving the ideas of the working class, the ideas of the communist party. And it is no coincidence that the theory of the journalistic elite is used against real freedom of the press, the freedom of the party and, indeed, people's press in the socialist countries. All these old and updated theories, discussed above, ultimately have a very definite goal - to hide the true face, the real position of bourgeois journalism as a servant and weapon of state-monopoly capital, using all the media and propaganda to strengthen its dominance and to fight against the forces of socialism and progress in the international arena.

A study of contemporary bourgeois journalism and propaganda shows how control is exercised over the mass media in the capitalist countries today and what place they occupy in the system of state-monopoly capital. In former times, this control was exercised through economic influence, by subordinating newspapers, magazines, then radio and television to the bourgeoisie through advertising, loans and through information and propaganda concerns.

Now these methods are acquiring a new, special character. We are talking about the ever-increasing control of financial capital, monopolies over information and propaganda media, over bourgeois journalism as a whole. In addition, there are such forms of subordination of the mass media to the interests of state-monopoly capital, such as the intervention in many countries of the bourgeois state in the affairs of the press, radio, television, the introduction of special legislation restricting their activities and placing them under state control. Thus, the main and most significant difference between the current state of the mass media in capitalist society is, as it were, double control over them - both on the part of the monopolies and on the part of the state, both economic and political control.

The place of mass media in the system of state-monopoly capital is determined by a number of factors. The first of these is the dependence of bourgeois journalism on big capital, which is expressed primarily in the fact that the vast majority of newspapers, magazines, radio, and television stations belong to wealthy owners. There are different estimates of how much it costs to publish one newspaper in a particular country.

They say that in the USA this requires capital of at least 50-60 million dollars. We are talking about a newspaper with a small circulation of 20-30-50 thousand copies. In England, a similar publication requires 5-10 million pounds sterling. These figures refer only to small or medium sized newspapers. The cost of publications that come out in a large circulation and format is determined by even more impressive figures, and the turnover of their funds is much higher and more substantial. Naturally, only very rich people belonging to the top of big capital can have such money. But with the development of the scientific and technological revolution, the

cost of mass media increases. The cost of equipment, labor and other factors that determine the economic aspects of the activities of the press, radio, and television are growing.

Advertising is the most important economic lever of press control by big capital. Advertisers, united in national associations of manufacturers and chambers of commerce, have a significant influence on media policy. Recently, the bourgeois state, which in a number of countries is the owner of entire industries, has begun to play an important role in the dissemination of advertising. For example, in England some branches of industry have been nationalized. In France, a number of aviation industry enterprises were nationalized. And now the government advertises these enterprises and their organizations, which is also paid at fairly high rates and is an important factor in the life of newspapers, magazines, television, and radio broadcasting.

The advertising given by the government to the press that supports it is a source of pressure on them. For example, in the conditions of Great Britain or France, the government does not advertise its enterprises in the communist press, but in bourgeois publications, especially those close to the government. Thus, advertising is a weapon in the hands not only of the monopolies, but also of the bourgeois state, which exerts influence through it on newspapers and magazines.

Speaking of advertising, you should pay attention to one more thing. The greatest development of the press, radio, and television is achieved where the capitalists spend the most money on advertising. Where costs are lower, both the number of media outlets and the scope of their activities are correspondingly reduced. American, British, Swedish, Japanese and West German monopolists make significant advertising expenditures. In these countries, the proportion of mass media, their circulation and income is especially large.

And countries like France and Italy, which spend less on advertising, have correspondingly less developed systems of press, broadcasting, and television. For example, in France, the largest circulation of the daily morning newspaper "Parisien Libere" was until recently 800-700 thousand copies. At the same time, in England the average daily circulation of a newspaper is 3-4 million copies. If the circulation of a mass newspaper falls below 2 million, it is considered unprofitable. In Japan, newspapers are also published in huge circulation - up to 6 million copies.

Advertising is not the only, although a very important factor in the influence of monopolies on the press.

Another, no less significant factor is the dependence of the press, as well as radio and television, on banking capital. The fact is that all mass media are forced to buy a significant part of the materials on credit in order to ensure their activities. Newspapers, for example, use loans to buy paper, paint and rent premises, depreciate equipment, etc. Banks, providing these services to the press, hold them in their hands. When a struggle was waged in Russia against the bourgeois press, V. I. Lenin pointed out that it was not enough to deprive it of advertising, since it could still enjoy the support of banks.

Through loans, banking capital has a serious impact on all industries, including the media. One way or another, they are in a certain dependence on financial capital and are included in the sphere of influence of large banks.

The mechanism of journalism's dependence on monopolies is not limited to these two factors - obtaining advertising and bank loans. No less important is the process of monopolization of the mass media and propaganda itself, which facilitates the impact and pressure on them from big capital. Inasmuch as any newspaper, magazine, radio, and

television enterprise is a capitalist enterprise, all the laws of capitalist production, including the law of concentration and monopolization, also apply to it. The increase in the cost of publishing newspapers, magazines, and the preparation of radio and television broadcasts makes this process more and more inevitable. As a result, in most countries of state-monopoly capital, the press is in the hands of the big monopolists, as are all the main mass media and propaganda.

There are several varieties of newspaper, magazine, and information concerns, which are combined horizontally or vertically. There is a concentration of capital along the line of unification of heterogeneous enterprises associated with the publication of newspapers. An example is The New York Times. It belongs to one owner: it is the only large edition of Sulzberer and his family. But recently this paper has acquired several smaller newspapers, radio, and television stations. What businesses does she own? Formerly, for the publication and maintenance of The New York Times itself, there were special factories of the same company, for example, producing paint and paper. In addition, it has its own forest plots, which provide paper mills with raw materials for paper production; It has its own research centers that provide the newspaper with additional information. The New York Times has a special intelligence apparatus and a syndicate to sell material to other newspapers. Thus, it is a concern that combines a number of large enterprises, ultimately producing one large newspaper, The New York Times.

Such a structure of production reduces the cost of publishing a newspaper, makes it more profitable, profitable from the point of view of capitalist entrepreneurship, and at the same time ensures that the New York Times is headed by a big capitalist millionaire.

Recently, enterprises have emerged that combine newspapers and magazines, publishing houses and radio and television companies in several countries. An example is the company of millionaire Lord Thomson. He now owns 183 newspapers, as well as television stations in such countries as England, Canada, the USA, the Bahamas, Australia, and other places. Thomson sees these ventures as a means to profit. He owns the saying that the TV is a box for making; of money. In the same way, he evaluates the newspaper and any other enterprise of his. Thomson is the owner of a multi-stakeholder, multi-industry, transnational outreach concern that includes virtually every type of media.

Recently, the so-called conglomerates, i.e., such concerns, in which the information and propaganda business is an adjunct to other types of industrial and entrepreneurial activity, have become increasingly widespread. In the UK, an example of such a corporation is Reed International, which owns the largest English newspaper, the Daily Mirror, and many newspapers, magazines, publishers, and television companies in different parts of the world. For Reed International, the outreach business is just one part of its gigantic business, which includes paper, wallpaper, and many other products.

With the creation of conglomerates, the relative autonomy of the outreach business is reduced; it becomes even more directly dependent on finance capital and the largest industrial monopolies, which are closely connected with each other and play a major role in the life of the countries of state-monopoly capitalism.

The inclusion of the media in big business increases their dependence on financial capital, while making non-monopolized publishing enterprises uncompetitive.

It is no coincidence that the majority of bourgeois press specialists now say that from a technical point of view, the best conditions for publication are those newspaper, magazine and radio-television corporations that are in the hands of large concerns.

The presence of large capitals allows them to acquire modern equipment and make the publication of newspapers and magazines more profitable and cheaper, and thereby "hammer" competitors. Let's say that New York now publishes one evening and two morning newspapers. They come out with a one-time circulation of about 4 million copies. And just a few years ago, 6, and a little earlier, 8 newspapers were published in New York, which had approximately the same circulation. The newspapers now appearing evidently have greater capacity, because the same number of copies is produced with a smaller editorial and publishing apparatus and at a lower cost.

The monopolization of the mass media makes it difficult for other publications, and above all those that are in opposition to the monopolies, to come out. Recently, there has been a reduction in publications in the capitalist world, connected with an increase in the proportion of monopoly groupings that determine the general direction of bourgeois journalism. Three New York newspapers, for example, are now more successful in supporting the American establishment than six newspapers have been. The New York Times used to be more critical of many aspects of politics than it is now, when it has no competition from the New York Herald Tribune. The closure of a number of daily newspapers in London and Paris led to an increase in the influence of the extreme right circles on the press in England, where the conservatives achieved overwhelming dominance in the so-called pan-English national publications and in France.

As a rule, the informational-propagandist complements support the extreme right-wing forces. In this regard, Springer's concern in Germany is indicative: both of Springer's daily newspapers - both the DieWelt, which claims to be solid, and the tabloid Bildzeitung - oppose the détente of international tension, in support of extremely reactionary forces close to neo-Nazism.

Consequently, the process of concentration and monopolization of the media leads to increased economic and political control over them.

It should be noted as a particularly dangerous phenomenon the creation of so-called international concerns. In English they are called multinational, but in practice it is more correct to call them supranational or international. This new trend in the economies of the bourgeois countries is connected primarily with the growing influence of the American monopolies in the capitalist world. For example, the American company General Electric has branches that operate in different countries. ITT played a major role in the overthrow of the government of popular unity in Chile.

The peculiarity of these supranational companies is that they are not connected for the most part with national groupings of capital, with the exception of American ones. They are not interested in protecting the national interests of this or that country; on the contrary, they often act to the detriment of them. As a rule, the decisive role in these companies belongs to American capital. ITT is essentially an American company with its overseas subsidiaries, but it is legally incorporated in each country as a separate company. In fact, they are an important means of subordinating the politics and economics of the capitalist countries to international capital, the main center of which remains the United States.

The concept of multinational, or transnational, companies acquires in connection with the emergence of such corporations by no means an abstract character. An example is Intelsat, which launches international space communications satellites. It has a monopoly in the capitalist world on the use of space for television and radio broadcasting. Intelsat belongs to American capital and is the prototype of the future American television supranational company, which is now trying to take over the television market throughout the capitalist world.

The creation of such monopolies and corporations allows us to say that the degree of influence of big capital has now reached a level where the bourgeois press is turning into a weapon of international capital, and primarily American. Thus, the creation of information and propaganda networks - national and then international - is a factor indicating the enslavement of the mass media by large international capital, the intertwining of their interests with the interests of other monopoly groups through bank credit and in the process of pumping capital from various branches of the economy. The monopolized press, radio, and television are increasingly becoming part of conglomerates that tie these mass media to the main groupings of financial capital. Their economic dependence can be traced through financial reports, and political dependence, although sometimes it cannot be documented, because the mechanism of pressure of financial capital is kept in strict secrecy, but it is revealed just as clearly. for example, The New York Times and The Washington Post are associated with banking centers that are part of the same financial group - the eastern one. And although both newspapers compete with each other in a certain way, they have common political principles. This is the reason, in particular, for the position of both on the Watergate case, as well as on the issue of publishing the Pentagon documents.

Thus, the dependence of the media on big capital is revealed in the following forms: advertising, loans, connection with banking capital, with information and propaganda monopolies; monopolies producing paper, producing printing, printing, radio, and television equipment, and more recently also with producing computers, since the activities of the mass media are increasingly based on the use of electronic computers.

In addition, the system of control of big capital is carried out through monopoly organizations for the distribution of the press, which exist in most countries. The same companies operate in the field of advertising. And finally, the most effective form of control of big capital is the creation of conglomerates, which include the media as one of the spheres of investment of financial capital.

If we talk about the political control of financial capital, then it is carried out through associations of industrialists, chambers of commerce. These organizations, operating within the national framework, exert political influence through their publications, various advisory bodies. The boards of directors of the largest financial groups also have political influence.

As for the association of employers, in France, for example, there is an organization of patronage, which has a strong influence on the press. Studies have shown that all French bourgeois newspapers, to one degree or another, take into account the wishes of this organization.

As we can see, big capital exercises both economic and political control over bourgeois journalism, and the forms of this control are closely connected, intertwined, and are specific to the development of a government-monopoly mechanism at the present stage.

Another characteristic feature of the development of bourgeois journalism today is its growing dependence on states. In modern capitalist countries, along with ministries of internal affairs, foreign affairs, and defense, as well as with other traditional institutions, there appear in various forms bodies exercising control over the mass media: ministries or departments of information, the press service at the White House, etc. . The state, seeking to influence the press, radio, television, creates appropriate special organizations for this. As a representative of big capital, it thereby exercises additional, cross-control over the media.

In France, television and radio broadcasting are state-owned. In England, there is the BBC, which is under government control, and independent television, licensed by the government. As you can see, state control is exercised particularly harshly over electronic media of information and propaganda - the most widespread and fastest.

In addition, in most capitalist countries, in addition to direct government intervention in the affairs of the press, there are opportunities for intervention through the judiciary. All countries have state secrets and defamation laws. Bourgeois governments make extensive use of them to restrict the freedom of the press and to persecute objectionable mass media. In England, there is a special law on advance notice, which requires the newspaper that it, in certain cases, does not publish information on those matters that the government asks to remain silent.

If a newspaper violates this prohibition, it is subject to appropriate penalties. An effective means of putting pressure on the press by the bourgeois government is censorship, carried out in various forms through the institutions.

In many cases, the forms of control of the bourgeois state and the monopolies coincide. Thus, the world's largest news agencies - Associated Press (AP) and United Press International (UPI) in the USA, Agence France Presse (AFP) in France and Reuters in the UK - are indicative in this respect.

They have a complete monopoly on the dissemination of information in their countries and are an effective form of management of bourgeois journalism. Being in the hands of big business, these four agencies are also closely connected with governments.

Such ties are especially strong among AFP and Reuters, and to a lesser extent among UPI and AP.

The governments of the USA, France, Great Britain, and other countries of big capital exercise a monopoly on information, and through press conferences and reports of all kinds of information that only they have. How quickly this or that mass media receives it depends on its success. This is a convenient form of supporting newspaper, magazine, and radio-television companies that are pleasing to the government and hindering the functioning of the media that it does not want. That is why the system of press conferences and companies, special firms organizing propaganda campaigns for money paid by private individuals or the state is so wide.

Of course, **when contradictions arise within monopolistic groupings,** this can also lead to conflicts between the press, or rather, part of the press, and the government. So it was with the publication of the secret Pentagon papers and during the Watergate affair.

The New York Times, The Washington Post, and other media associated with the so-called "Eastern Establishment" of the United States attacked President Nixon's government, which

is closely associated with Western, and above all Californian, monopoly groups.

In essence, it was rather a conflict not between the press and the government, but between the two most influential groups of American monopolies. By the way, a significant, and perhaps most of the press, primarily provincial publications, supported Nixon.

These conflicts, therefore, only confirm the truth that finance capital equally controls both the press and the bourgeois state, which is an effective instrument for strengthening the power of the monopolies. Thus, the bourgeois state in modern conditions has a direct and indirect system of influence on journalism, and the monopolization and concentration of the mass media themselves facilitate this influence.

An auxiliary, but important role in the system of control of the state-monopoly capital over the mass media is played by the political parties of the bourgeoisie and the church.

Today in the capitalist countries one of the complex problems is the problem of interaction between bourgeois journalism and bourgeois political parties. The major newspapers here call themselves non-partisan or non-partisan media outlets. These are "newspapers without labels", as they say in France.

Bourgeois theoreticians try to assert that such newspapers serve all sections, all classes, and all parties of bourgeois society. This is fundamentally wrong.

In the countries of state-monopoly capitalism, there are two types of parties: bourgeois and communist and workers. If we compare the bourgeois press and the communist and workers' press, we will see a fundamental, class difference between them on the main domestic and foreign policy issues.

The communist press openly declares its class, party position, reflects the interests of the communist party and the working class it serves. As for bourgeois publications, there are cases when some of them call themselves the organs of certain bourgeois parties, for example, in France, Nation, which was the organ of the ruling party of the YuDR. Most of the country's newspapers - Le Figaro, Auror, France-Soir and others - do not carry such a party label. But as practice shows, during the elections all of them supported the ruling party of the South Democratic Republic, that is, they expressed a unanimous opinion on principled, class positions - the opinion of the bourgeoisie.

If in the early stages, in the 19th century, when there was still no strong, organized working class, the bourgeoisie represented its various party groupings in elections and the press was used in the interests of one or another individual bourgeois party, then in modern conditions the bourgeois parties play the role of intermediaries between state-monopoly capital and the masses. And although, acting as intermediaries, they compete with each other, they perform the functions of serving the interests of one class - the monopoly bourgeoisie.

In this case, the differences between the parties are very small. The classic country in this respect is the United States of America, where two parties act - the Republican and the Democratic.

In essence, their programs, foreign and domestic policy are not much different from each other. Their rivalry in the elections is a big, carefully organized game, which should give the appearance of a political struggle and divert the attention of the masses from the interests that these parties pursue.

They create the illusion of a choice between two parties that equally serve big capital. The interests of the bourgeoisie in the United States are not endangered either by the victory of the Democrats or by the victory of the Republicans. Each bourgeois party, to one degree or another, expresses the class interests of the bourgeoisie or some part of it, but all of them in the aggregate are branches, branches of one bourgeois party. And bourgeois journalists express the interests of precisely one party, which has various branches with their own names, and the newspapers, as it were, lease their space, their pages to them. That is why many bourgeois, and even more so workers, leaders call the bourgeois press one-party press. In this sense, President Roosevelt was also right when he defined the American press as a one-party press. The recent statements of the general secretary of the British trade union of printers R. Briginiro are also curious.

He declared that in England there was a one-party press, that in the clash between labor and capital, between the working class and the bourgeoisie, the entire English press took a bourgeois position. Thus, when it comes to the so-called informational press or without labels, non-partisan, it must be remembered that in essence this is a bourgeois press. Its partisanship is expressed not in the fact that it is published in the name of this or that party, but in its political program, which reflects the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The refusal of bourgeois publishers to talk directly about their connection with any political party, consequently, serves only to defend the common class interests of the bourgeoisie more frankly, both foreign policy and domestic policy, in essence the press becomes one-party.

As for the connection with the parties, and sometimes there is, this strengthens the dependence of newspapers, magazines, and other publications on certain bourgeois-financial

groupings. Through the bourgeois parties, they have a significant influence on the content of propaganda in the interests of the big monopolies.

The true partisanship of the bourgeois press is, no doubt, in its service to its class, or, more precisely, to financial capital. But there is another point in the support of one or another newspaper of certain bourgeois political parties. In this case, the bourgeois newspapers reflect the alignment of forces within the ruling camp and their influence on the population. Thus, in England, The Times newspaper announced after the defeat of the Conservatives that it would support the Labor Party in the re-election. The newspaper decided to do so both in the interests of retaining its readers and in the interests of the group of financial capital on behalf of which it acted. By the way, shortly after that, The Times returned to supporting the conservatives: it always remained the mouthpiece of financial capital, no matter who it supported in words.

Studying the position of newspapers from this point of view allows us to better understand the alignment of forces in a particular country. In principle, the bourgeois parties have changed their characteristics and meaning under the conditions of the modern capitalist state. Although there are differences between them, and very significant ones, **they do not contradict the general interests of the bourgeoisie.** All bourgeois parties are **part of the apparatus for manipulating** public opinion, for manipulating the masses. Of course, under certain conditions, some political parties, due to the situation that has arisen, can, to a greater or lesser extent reflect the mood of the masses, and this, **in some cases** leads to a new trend in the activity of the party, even bourgeois. Therefore, it is necessary to draw a line between different political bourgeois groups - fascist, ultra-right, extremely reactionary,

conservative, right, liberal, while remembering that all these parties are bourgeois.

It is important to emphasize one more very important circumstance connected with the problems of the party spirit of the bourgeois press. This is the desire of publishers, with the formal non-partisan press, to sell their product to the largest possible number of readers, and, consequently, to impose their propaganda on the largest possible audience.

A study of the activities of the press in the United States shows that, as a rule, newspapers operate on the principle of mimicry: where the majority of the population supports the Republicans, they also support the Republican Party, and vice versa. At the same time, newspapers have a huge impact on the audience. The formal support of Republicans or Democrats does not prevent them from opposing more progressive candidates of either party. Here the position of American newspapers is always unequivocal: the vast majority of them (over 70%), as a rule, support more right-wing candidates, both Republicans and Democrats. The American press votes for the right - for the monopolies to which it belongs.

In conditions when the press was connected with the parties, this or that newspaper exposed its political line, which made it more vulnerable in the eyes of readers. It had to create the appearance of consistency in its political program. The reduction in the number of organs of the bourgeois parties means the strengthening of general bourgeois tendencies in the press and the reduction of the possibilities for revealing various internal contradictions in the camp of the bourgeoisie.

From this point of view, the creation of the so-called information press, a press without labels, is a manifestation of

the onset of reaction, an indicator of the even greater dependence of the mass media on state-monopoly capital.

A characteristic situation has developed in England, where not a single bourgeois newspaper is published in the name of any party. True, they claim that they support the positions of the Conservative or very rarely the Labor Party and try to act almost as an arbiter between them, but in fact the big capitalists, the owners of these newspapers, are the arbitrators.

The **reduction in the number of newspaper owners means** the consolidation of the mass media in the hands of state-monopoly capital, and the reduction of opportunities for revealing one or another disagreement in the press itself.

As research shows, the interaction between bourgeois parties and the press in each of the countries of state-monopoly capital develops differently, and on the whole there is a tendency to create a one-party bourgeois press, which further strengthens the control over it of monopolies, finance capital and the bourgeois state. In this connection, the classification of newspapers into information and "opinion newspapers" is also characteristic, which is used by bourgeois theoreticians of journalism.

They call informational newspapers that are not associated with one or another political party. Essentially, these are one-party newspapers representing the interests of big business. The name "informational" only **masks their political nature, the desire to reflect the common interests of the bourgeois class** and, to a lesser extent - at least openly - the positions of groupings within the bourgeois class.

"Opinion newspapers" are of two categories: those supporting some unformed groupings, i.e., expressing the opinion of various circles of the bourgeoisie in a given country, and those

supporting organized bourgeois groupings - bourgeois parties.

Opinion newspapers, representing unformed bourgeois groupings, more openly express political tendencies within the camp of the bourgeoisie. In France, the newspaper Le Monde is the "newspaper of opinion". It essentially reflects a position close to the French government, and in this sense represents the interests of a formally unorganized grouping of the bourgeoisie. And another "newspaper of opinions" - "Nation" until recently represented the bourgeois party of the YuDR. Such a classification of publications - into "opinion newspapers" and informational ones - is basically conditional and unreasonable, since all these newspapers provide extensive information, put forward political slogans, theses and conduct political propaganda. Calling themselves informational, **newspapers try to hide their political affiliation** with this word. True, they can say that they reflect the interests of all parties, except for the extreme left, and in this case they call the communists the extreme left, and **this is precisely what reveals their bourgeois one-party system.**

The division of bourgeois newspapers is, of course, conditional, but such a classification must be kept in mind, because **its purpose is to hide the broad bourgeois platform of the press,** the purposeful nature of its political propaganda activities, and its support for certain actions of bourgeois political parties and the government.

In relation to the working class, all these newspapers **take practically the same bourgeois position.**

Speaking of the one-party bourgeois press, one should not think that there is no point in studying the various tendencies that are reflected in this or that newspaper.

They must be studied because they reflect the relations within the camp of the bourgeoisie.

Knowledge of these details and nuances is very important for the activities of the parties of the working class, which are interested in preventing extremely reactionary, fascist groups from coming to power. This is also important for the interests of the socialist camp in its struggle against bourgeois ideology.

The church plays an extremely important role in the modern countries of state-monopoly capitalism, in their political apparatus and journalism.

The fusion of clericalism with state-monopoly capitalism is manifested in the fact that, firstly, the church itself is a big capitalist: it has, in particular the Catholic Church, large enterprises closely connected with capital; secondly, the clerical activity of the church elite also reflects the interests of big business: using the influence of religious dogma on the population, it influences the masses of big business in a somewhat mystified form of religious propaganda.

In most capitalist countries, the press reflects, to one degree or another, the positions of the largest church associations. France, for example, is a Catholic country. It has a special concern for the Catholic press, in whose hands is the newspaper "Croix", many magazines and other publications. In Italy, too, all bourgeois newspapers are under the influence of the Catholic Church. In England, the press is closely connected primarily with the Anglican Church, in the USA with various Protestant associations, as well as with Catholic and other churches.

The Church is also strong in other countries of state-monopoly capitalism. It publishes its newspapers and magazines in very large circulations. In the US, the Presbyterian magazine Presbyterian Life has a circulation of 1.5 million copies. The

newspaper "Croix" in France is published with a circulation of about 150 thousand copies. In a word, clerical journalism plays an essential role in the activity of the modern bourgeois apparatus of propaganda and enters into the general structure of states -monopolistic capitalism.

Consideration of the place of journalism in bourgeois society shows that it is an inseparable part of the system of state-monopoly capitalism, its superstructure. Modern newspaper, magazine, radio and television trusts, news agencies are large capitalist enterprises and, in terms of the scope of their activities, occupy a significant place in the economies of such countries as the USA, Japan, Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, Canada, etc. Ensuring the economic and ideological domination of capital, suppressing the resistance of the working masses through its propaganda influence, bourgeois journalism serves as an effective weapon of the bourgeois state, the bourgeois court, the bourgeois government. In the context of the growing general crisis of capitalism and the growing influence of socialist ideas, it is playing an increasingly sinister role in maintaining the dominance of capital.

Studying the place of bourgeois journalism in the system of modern state-monopoly capitalism, it must be borne in mind, first of all, that there is a process of monopolization and concentration of the media and propaganda, and it develops according to the same laws as processes in other areas of industry, strengthening the dominance of capital and its control.

In the economic control of capital, the most important role is played by advertising, which is distributed by the press, radio, television, loans, various forms of concentration and monopolization. Conglomerates, finance capital and international monopolies are increasingly exercising political

control of capital through national industrial associations, chambers of commerce, through bank lending to media and propaganda enterprises, through the monopoly's own propaganda apparatus.

At the same time, the control of the bourgeois state over journalism is also growing. For this, the government's monopoly on the most important types of information, laws restricting the activities of the media in the interests of capital, and various forms of censorship are used.

While demagogically arguing about the formal principles of "freedom of the press", in fact the bourgeois state is strengthening its control and the power of the monopolies over the media and propaganda. The disappearance of the press of bourgeois political parties in most bourgeois countries also contributes to this: journalism here is transformed into one-party bourgeois journalism. With all the differences that reflect the intra-class contradictions of the bourgeoisie, in the main international and domestic political issues, the mass media and propaganda of the capitalist countries support the line of the monopolies and their bourgeois governments.

One of the straps that bind bourgeois journalism to the system of state-monopoly capitalism is the church. Its influence is especially great in the moral and ethical sphere, in the spiritual cultivation of the population, in subordinating it to bourgeois ideology.

The growing role of bourgeois journalism and propaganda in the system of state-monopoly capitalism reflects one of the important trends in the development of modern bourgeois society, connected with the development of the ideological functions of the monopolies and the bourgeois state.

Here we need high political vigilance, activity, prompt and convincing propaganda work, timely rejection of hostile ideological sabotage.

Naturally, a careful study of the mechanism of bourgeois propaganda, a profound Marxist critique of the theories, methods, and techniques of bourgeois journalism, which equips our propaganda cadres in the struggle against bourgeois ideology, acquire essential significance.

Revealing the true face of bourgeois journalism, its place and role in the system of state-monopoly capitalism helps not only to trace one of the most important trends in the development of modern capitalist society, but also to wage an offensive struggle against the ideological sabotage of imperialism, to cultivate implacability towards all hostile manifestations of bourgeois propaganda and to those who directs it to please their masters - finance capital, international monopolies.

News agencies

As an instrument of influence on the press, the ruling class also uses its control over the two largest US agencies - the Associated Press and United Press International, which monopolize the vast majority of domestic and international information that is distributed in the country.

If we take into account the regional nature of the American press, it becomes clear how much all but the largest newspapers in the United States depend on the information supplied by these agencies. Every day, most Americans read only their own, local newspaper. And although it is believed that the main thing in it is the news of the city in which it is published, nevertheless, it cannot do without messages from different parts of the United States and from abroad.

It is clear that only a few wealthy publications have the luxury of having their own correspondents in other states and abroad. Everyone else uses information from telegraph agencies, which, by the way, is one of the reasons for the monotony and monotony of the vast majority of American provincial newspapers. (…)

Consider the activities of these agencies on the example of the Associated Press. Any newspaper that pays a service fee and, in addition, supplies it with its own information free of charge, can formally be a member of it. Despite the fact that the number of members of the Associated Press is expressed in four figures, it is actually controlled by a small group of people representing the largest press monopolies. The mechanism of this control was revealed by J. Marmon in his book Stop the Print!

Any member of the agency has the right to purchase special bonds, the refusal to receive interest on which gives their owner the right to additional votes during the election of directors; each $25 turnover is one vote. The maximum amount for which bonds can be purchased is $1,000. But the fact is that in each case it depends on how much the agency member pays for the information received.

It is clear that large newspapers receive more materials and, accordingly, pay more for them than small ones. Thus, the affairs of the agency are run not by hundreds of humble shareholders, but by a few bigwigs in the newspaper business, who have the opportunity to buy up the maximum number of votes.

"... The Associated Press, in its structure, function, and substance, is not just a monopolistic organization; The Associated Press is the monopolistic symbol of the more powerful monopoly, the United States press... It exists as an

expression. . . the general desire of a minority of the press - the big and powerful newspapers of the big cities - to establish dominance over the entire press. What these latter have in common is the desire to crush their weaker rivals, to reduce their numbers in every conflict of interest, to destroy new competition at the very bud, and to skim the cream off the colossal profits that the press receives.

As for United Press International, this agency has recently been monopolized by the Scripps-Howard publishing concern. If, when UPI was created, Scripps-Howard owned 65% of its shares, now it is 95%.

As the owner of a business enterprise, the publisher has an interest in the existence of a monopoly; as a representative of the ruling class, he is interested in propagating a very specific ideology. Control over news agencies gives the owners of the largest publishing concerns the opportunity to put pressure on newspapers, the existence of which does not suit them for one reason or another, to deprive them of access to information.

This happened, in particular, with the newspaper "PM" by M. Field, which was closed as a result of a boycott of news agencies. There have been many cases where a publisher who was not accepted as a member of the agency bought another newspaper, only to close it and inherit its right to information from the Associated Press. R. McDonald, president, and publisher of the Chattanoo New Free Press, acted in this way, in particular, by acquiring the News. However, the story didn't end there. D. O. Adler, then manager of The New York Times and publisher of The Chattanoo Times, demanded that McDonald close his Sunday paper. Otherwise, he threatened to use every means available to him to deprive McDonald of access to information from the Associated Press.

Such cases became so numerous that in 1945 a statute was passed forbidding the Associated Press from refusing to accept a newspaper on the grounds that it was a competitor to an AP member newspaper. But this ban had no effect. Discrimination against publications, especially new ones, continues. In 1967, seven publishers appeared before the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee complaining about the difficulty in acquiring news agency material. Of course, this hearing could not change anything.

The monopoly on information is beneficial to the US ruling circles, and that is why it exists. Thus, the control of the largest publishing concerns - and in their person the entire US financial oligarchy - over the two news agencies that have usurped the right to disseminate information is also a lever of economic pressure on the press. The AP and the UPI, pursuing a policy of discrimination against individual publications, contribute to the formation and development of newspaper monopolies. The means of pressure in this case can be both an increase in the cost of information, and a direct refusal to sell it.

In addition to the Associated Press and United Press International, Reuters, AFP, and Kyodo Tsushin are among the world's largest news agencies.

Reuters has been in existence since 1851. It is a trust divided between the London Newspaper Owners' Association, the Press Association, and the Australian and New Zealand news agencies. Its budget is made up of share contributions from shareholders and a subscription fee. The Press Association is not only one of the shareholders of Reuters, but in fact its affiliate specializing in inside information.

Reuters has a wide network of own and freelance correspondents in 175 countries. Among its foreign subscribers are about 3,000 newspapers and a large number of radio stations. Every day, the agency transmits 30-40 thousand words of international information. It also has specialized services for photographic information, articles, and reviews, and the Komtelburo financial and economic information service, which enjoys a solid reputation in the business world, is directly connected by teletype with the offices of industrial and banking firms.

The predecessor of the Agence France-Presse (AFP), founded in 1944, was the world's oldest agency Gavas. Initially, the AFP was an official government agency and was on the state budget. Since 1957 it is legally an autonomous organization endowed with civil legal capacity and designed to provide objective information, although in fact it remains part of the state propaganda apparatus. The state is the owner of a controlling stake in the agency, appoints 1/3 of the governing body of the AFP - the Administrative Council.

The agency's main source of funding is the subscription fee, which consists of receipts from government agencies, newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations and other subscribers. The AFP's annual budget is on average about 60 million francs. France Presse has more than 1,000 foreign subscribers alone. The agency has 110 branches and 1,500 correspondents all over the world. Japan's largest news agency, Kyodo Tsushin, is a cooperative association of leading newspapers and NHK broadcasting corporation. Its main shareholders are NHK and the Sankei Shimbun newspaper. Japan's three largest newspapers, Asahi, Mainichi, and Yomiuri, also use Kyodo's international information.

70% of the agency's budget comes from contributions from newspapers, 12% from private radio and television

companies. The Tokyo office and Kyodo branches in 42 Japanese cities employ 1,800 people. The correspondent network abroad is relatively small: 50 correspondents in 31 cities. The daily amount of information in Japanese is 260 thousand characters, in English - 50 thousand words. Kyodo Tsushin information is transmitted to 45 countries around the world.

Broadcasting and television

The influence of capital on radio and television in different countries of the capitalist world has its own specifics, which is explained by the existence of several forms of ownership of these media and propaganda: state, private and mixed.

In Italy and France, broadcasting and television are controlled by the government, in Germany and Japan, both by the government and by private owners. In the UK, there are a number of commercial television companies in addition to the government broadcaster, the BBC.

Only in the United States is the electronic media almost entirely in the hands of private owners.

The main livelihoods of government-controlled radio and television stations are subscription fees and subsidies. As for commercial companies, they exist entirely on advertising revenue. Only large stations can earn additional profits by renting out their programs. But the share of this profit is small. Consequently, commercial television and radio depend on advertising even more than the press.

Along with this, another question arises: are government radio and television free from the influence of capital? Such influence exists, primarily indirect, due to the fact that the governments of the developed capitalist countries are the governments of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Further, the direct

economic influence of capital on radio and television is becoming more and more noticeable.

At the founding of government broadcasting in Western European countries, it was non-commercial, that is, it did not broadcast or almost did not broadcast advertising. But this situation could not be stable: the monopolies needed television advertising as a means of increasing their trade turnover, and, moreover, they could not help but strive to control such a powerful medium of mass media and propaganda.

Their offensive was facilitated by the fact that the costs of producing television programs were growing everywhere, which was caused by an increase in the number of channels, the volume of broadcasting, the development of color television, and the growth in the number of expensive intercontinental transmissions. Under such conditions, subscription fees and government subsidies became insufficient to cover the costs of television. This forced them to resort to an increase in the volume of advertising.

This process is not going equally fast everywhere, but in general the trend towards the approval of advertising on television is obvious. Two forms of commercialization of television can be noted: the creation of private companies, as was the case in England, and the increase in the volume of advertising broadcasts on government television channels, which is noted in France and other countries. An example of the logical conclusion of this second trend is the Dutch television, which in 1967 completely switched to a commercial way of financing. Until recently, only institutional advertising was broadcast on French television. In 1968, the government decided to broadcast branded advertising and increase its volume. This measure immediately resulted in a significant increase in revenues. In 1973, a 30-second commercial on the

first French television program already cost between 23,000 and 100,000 francs, depending on the time of transmission and the day of the week. The speeches of the French public against the increase in the volume of advertising on television were not successful. As a result of the government's decision, television, and the largest monopolies, which are able to pay huge sums for television advertising, have benefited. Along with large incomes, television acquired new owners.

In Germany, where advertising is controlled by state broadcasters and its volume is relatively small, a number of financial groups are raising the question of creating commercial television. This project is opposed by the newspaper monopolies, in particular the Springer Conner. The same newspaper opposition to the growth of television advertising exists in Italy. Publishers are afraid of the redistribution of advertising revenue in favor of television, and their fears are not unfounded.

This is evidenced by the example of Holland, where the transition of television to a commercial basis caused the collapse of a number of newspapers.

The United States of America is the only country where both radio and television are entirely in the hands of private companies from the very beginning, so their dependence on capital appears here in its purest form, in contrast to, say, France, where it manifests itself indirectly: the bourgeois state, without giving private capital of freedom of broadcasting on the air, nevertheless ensures the observance of its general class interests. The most important channel of capital control over US radio and television, as well as over the newspaper and publishing business, is advertising. If a newspaper sells a place on its pages to an advertiser, then a radio and television station sells time on the air. Its cost depends on a number of

factors, the main of which are the socio-demographic composition of the audience, its size and purchasing power.

FCC member N. Johnson wrote: "... we usually think of the viewer as a consumer and the program as a commodity. . . But the real consumer is the advertiser, and the real product is the audience. . . Transfer is a way of delivering the viewer, the potential buyer of goods owned by the advertiser.

Thus, "free" television costs American viewers much more than British pay. Apparently, a TV show, unlike a newspaper, is only a commodity for the advertiser. In fact, it turns out that part of the expenses of the advertiser is paid for by the viewer. But this is too hidden and complicated a mechanism, and in this case there is no reason to assert that the viewer also acts as a buyer. The privileges of the buyer, such as the ability to dictate their will, the right to choose, only the advertiser has. The most expensive goods, intended for a narrow circle of wealthy consumers, are unprofitable to advertise on television. It has a mass audience, so advertising of consumer goods, goods for the family is profitable for it. Thus, television accounts for 89% of soap and detergent advertisements, 80% of medicine advertisements, 72% of luxury item advertisements, and 71% of food products advertisements. (…)

In US television, the dominance of monopolies was established even more rapidly than in the newspaper business. This is probably explained by the fact that the publishing industry and the radio and television business were born in different conditions: the first - in the period of pre-monopoly, the second - monopoly capitalism.

In the newspaper business, the process of concentration was accompanied by a decrease in the number of publications. In television and radio, events developed differently: new

stations continued to be created. But this did not interfere with the strengthening of the position of the "Big Three". Despite the specificity of the process of concentration in different media, the result of it is the same.

The concentration of radio and television ownership takes various forms: there are groups of radio stations, television stations, mixed; a number of broadcasting stations are owned by newspaper and publishing monopolies, industrial firms, and conglomerates. Here, as in the newspaper business, there is an increase in the number and size of individual groups, in the sphere of influence of which a greater number of stations fall every year. Groups control the most powerful stations. All types of monopolies include 27% of mediumwave and 29% of ultra-short wave stations.

When radio stations are put on the market, their buyers are most often those who already own such a property. The same thing happens with licenses for newly created stations. This explains the fact that the concentration process was accompanied by an increase in the number of stations.

The FCC has studied literally hundreds of cross-media ownership cases over the years. And in 1975, it adopted rules prohibiting any merger or acquisition that resulted in a newspaper. the radio or television station in the city falls into the same hands. But this decision affects only 16 of the existing associations: 6 radio-newspaper 11 7 TV-newspaper, which before January 1, 1980 must sell part of their property. The half-heartedness of the FCC's decision is obvious: in 1973, newspapers and/or magazines owned 515 radio and 179 television stations, so 16 cases is a drop in the ocean.

Newspapers that are part of press associations are usually larger and more profitable than single publications; similarly, stations affiliated with radio or television groups or owned by

newspapers tend to be more powerful and generate more revenue than so-called independent ones. For example, in 1961 newspaper-controlled medium-wave stations, which then accounted for 9% of the total, received 15%, and 24% of newspaper-owned television stations -36% of television revenues (excluding the profits of the Big Three). Newspaper-owned stations typically charge higher advertising rates than independent stations. The same laws of the capitalist market operate here as in the newspaper business. Monopoly corporations (and when a local newspaper and a broadcasting station are concentrated in the same hands, that is exactly what is created) can dictate their terms. (…)

A handful of leading broadcasters have captured all the major centers of industry, finance, business, and cultural life. Each member of the "big three" has television stations in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and other cities included in the top ten. The powerful radio and television company RK-O owns stations in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Washington, Memphis, Hartford, Windsor (Ontario, Canada) and the Yankee Network regional network. Metromedia operates in New York, Los Angeles, Washington, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cleveland, Kansas City, Oakland. Westinghouse stations are located in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Boston, San Francisco, Baltimore, and Fort Wayne.

Thus the radio-television magnates, like their publishing colleagues, control all the key points of the country, their power extending from Canada in the north almost to the Mexican frontier in the south, from the Atlantic in the east to the Pacific in the west.

The power of small local monopolies is not so great, but even they have their advantages over single stations: they can enter into better contracts with the "big three" for the rental of

programs, set higher advertising rates, and attract more talented personnel.

The tendency to create a local monopoly on all media is quite obvious. Currently, in more than 70 areas of the United States, the media are owned by one radio-newspaper complex, and the owners of joint newspaper-television companies dominate more than 90 communities. "Of the 150 radio and television stations located in the most commercially advantageous areas of the country, one third are owned by newspaper monopolies." A local media monopoly gives its owner enormous political power on a city, community, region, state scale. "And increasingly, in many states and communities, congressmen and state and local officials are forced to reckon more with this handful of media owners (many of whom do not live in the state) than with voters," N. Johnson admits.

It has already been mentioned that the process of diversification of production affected the newspaper business, and free capital was often pumped into television. As for broadcasters, they usually cannot invest excess capital in the publication of periodicals since the newspaper and magazine market is already quite saturated. They are gaining ground in other areas of the business "... Storer Broadcasting Radio and Television Corporation bought an airline; Northeast Airlines CBS bought the New York Yankees professional football team. In turn, the owners of large industrial concerns, especially giant conglomerates, tend to acquire propaganda media, considering it "a prestigious, profitable and often useful or even necessary additional element of their operations."

Already now among the concerns that own television stations are such business giants as General Tire, Avco, Rust Craft, Chris Craft, Kaiser, Kerr-McGee, Hughes Tool Company. The owner of NBC, one of the three major broadcasting systems in the United States, is the industrial conglomerate Radio

Corporation of America, which recently acquired the book publishing house Random House.

A few years ago, there was a sensational case about the merger of ABC with ITT, one of the strongest conglomerates in the world. It supplies the US government with defense and space equipment and publishes books, manufactures communications equipment, and runs insurance companies and investment funds. ITT has investments in 40 countries. The merger was heard by the FCC and approved by a majority vote, although it was clear that with one of the world's most powerful broadcasting systems, ITT would use it to its advantage. As member N. Johnson, who voted against the commission, admits, this case first made him understand "the terrible significance of the structure of ownership of the mass media in America."

The issue of conglomerates and their acquisition of media appears to be extremely important. Economic control of the propaganda business gives them greater political power. The development of conglomerates is a relatively new phenomenon, which took on a large scale only in the 1960s. If in 1948-1951 only 38% of the total number of mergers had a conglomerate character, then in 1971 it was 90.9%.

There are various definitions of the essence of conglomerates. This is sometimes referred to as broadly diversified companies that bring together businesses that are not technologically related. In other cases, the question is reduced to some features of management. So far, this problem has not been finally resolved in relation to the mass communications industry. N. Johnson calls conglomerates "companies that, in addition to publishing and radio and television enterprises, own other industrial corporations." At the same time, in the materials of a seminar on the problems of mass communications held at Stanford University (teachers of law,

business, economics, and communications took part in the seminar), newspaper and television associations were named as conglomerates. American researchers, apparently, have not yet come to a consensus, and the question still remains open.

It seems that newspaper and television concerns cannot be compared with conglomerates in the full sense of the word, such as, say, Consolidated Electronics, Armour, DuPont, each of which operates in at least eight industries. But what is important is that the very direction of the development of the propaganda business coincides with the general trend of the development of the American economy. Both newspaper and radio and television monopolies diversify their activities through acquisitions. True, most often these takeovers do not go beyond the media, but individual facts, such as the purchase of an airline by the broadcasting corporation Stourner Broadcasting Corporation, indicate that penetration into other business sectors for the largest propaganda monopolies is not something impossible.

However, the fixed capital of most newspaper and television associations is relatively small, so it seems more likely that they will become not the centers of conglomerates, but only their cells. There are already many examples of this. Consumers are trying to get their hands on such a new means of communication as cable television. They are engaged, in particular, in Kaiser Industries, Westinhouse, General Electric, General Telephone. Among the largest owners of radio and television companies are a number of banks, investment firms and other financial institutions. Thus, the well-known US brokerage firm Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith, as of March 10, 1965, controls 14 broadcasting companies, which combine 51 medium wave, 39 ultra-short wave and 56 television stations.

The essence of brokerage operations is that, at the request of the client, the firm buys a certain number of shares of a company and holds them until it receives instructions to sell them. Many rentiers outsource the management of their portfolios entirely to financial firms, which thereby gain control over the companies whose shares are entrusted to them.

Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith is not the only financial institution that, thanks to this system, is concentrating far more stations in its hands than the FCC allows. The investment firm Keystone S-4 holds shares in 18 mediumwave, 14 ultra-short wave, and 23 television stations. Thus, financial institutions exercise as much control over the radio and television business, if not even tighter control, than over the publishing industry.

Advertising and its place in the economics of bourgeois journalism

Among such definitions of the current century as the "age of the atom", "the age of space", "the age of the scientific and technological revolution" and many others, the "age of advertising" given by J. Keyser in the book "The Death of One Freedom" can also be used, if we talk about the world of capitalism, where the role of advertising both in the sphere of production and in everyday life is very great.

Acting as a powerful means of maintaining and increasing trade turnover, advertising plays a large and growing role in the economy of state-monopoly capitalism. Having become essentially one of the branches of this economy, it flourishes at the expense of the funds allocated by representatives of other areas of business, striving to expand the sales market, increase production and, in the end, get even more profit.

“It is advertising that creates mass demand, without which the economy of mass production would not be achievable and rational,” says the American specialist D. W. Head. Of course, therefore, the first on the list of those who resort to advertising and are willing to pay for it are the wealthy representatives of the consumer goods and service industries. Advertising flourishes especially where supply exceeds demand.

But its true dominance comes when it is found that the cost of it is not only not burdensome, but also justified, that a skillful investment in advertising, in turn, brings a profit.

The vast majority of manufacturers cannot do without advertising when selling their goods, and therefore the cost of advertising is forced for them.

However, in the system of state-monopoly capitalism, the distribution of advertising is organized in such a way that the buyer pays not only the cost of the product, but also the cost of advertising it.

It should be emphasized here that in the conditions of capitalist competition, "free market elements", excess supply does not mean full satisfaction of the buyer's need for the right product.

Advertising in this case should help eliminate the costs of overproduction. It therefore appears as one of the essential details of the complex machine of state-monopoly capitalism. Quite remarkable is the fact that in recent times the state itself has often acted as an independent advertiser, thereby exerting a direct influence on the situation on the advertising market.

Under these conditions, there is a real hunt for advertising for the buyer using a variety of means associated with huge costs. According to the Association of American Psychologists. every "average" American is bombarded with over 2,000

advertisements every day. In the early 1970s, according to one French researcher, advertising expenses per inhabitant of the country were about 80 francs in France, from 150 to 250 francs in England, Sweden and the FRG, and 420 francs in the USA. The latter figure means that during this period, advertising costs in the United States amounted to $ 20 billion per year. (…)

Why do advertisers so often resort to the services of the press? What makes them turn to television, radio? Why, finally, do they give preference to this or that newspaper, magazine, leaving other publications unattended? In the answers to these questions, we should first of all talk about the effectiveness of advertising, about the profit that the money invested in it gives.

The desire for maximum profit, natural to any capitalist, pushes him to expand production. The implementation of mass production requires an increase in the sales market; an entrepreneur needs a buyer, and he cannot do without advertising. A newspaper with a large circulation gives him the opportunity to bring his advertising to the mass reader - a potential buyer. Thus, circulation is the first thing that will interest the capitalist. At the same time, the publisher is extremely interested in increasing the circulation: he receives money from the sale of it to cover the costs of issuing the newspaper. And if it is big enough to attract advertisers, then this is a sure way to get rich. So, the interests of the advertiser and the owner of the newspaper coincide already at the first stage. (…)

But whatever these figures may be in each individual case, we emphasize that advertising is the main source of income for the press, which creates a margin in which the advertiser gets the opportunity to decide the fate of a particular publication. "Advertising, even more than circulation, has become a clear

indicator of the newspaper's prosperity. It leads to success, and its reduction accelerates the failure of newspapers.

She turns away from those who are struggling and offers herself to those who succeed. She carries gold in herself, but gives it only to the rich.

In economic terms, this leads to the fact that advertising becomes one of the decisive factors in the process of concentration and monopolization of the bourgeois press, whose history and especially its present day are full of examples of how newspapers and magazines were closed and continue to be closed due to lack of advertising revenue.

In political terms, this leads to the unlimited power of the bourgeoisie over powerful propaganda tools and means of forming public opinion, to a monopoly on information.

Finally, advertising dramatically changes the face of the press that it graciously allows to exist. Its content and form are largely determined by the fact that it is nothing but "a commodity in the market where the buyer is the advertiser."

The dependence of the press on banks

Banks are an instrument of long-term, strategic control of big capital over the press, in contrast to advertising, which acts as a means of everyday, tactical control. But if the role of advertising in the print economy is obvious, then the role of banks, as a rule, remains in the background, moreover, it is carefully hidden.

How important it is to study and identify the links between the press and financial capital is evidenced by the fact that already on November 17, 1917, ten days after the victory of the October Revolution, V. I. Lenin wrote the “Draft Resolution on Freedom of the Press”, which provided for the establishment

of the Commission of Inquiry "to investigate the links of periodicals with capital, the source of their funds and income, the composition of their donors, covering their deficits and the entire economy of newspapers in general."

This event was seen as the first step towards realizing true freedom of the press. “The workers’ and peasants’ government,” the draft resolution said, “by freedom of the press understands the liberation of the press from the yoke of capital, the transfer of paper mills and printing houses to state ownership, the provision of each group of citizens reaching a certain number (for example, 10,000) equal the right to use an appropriate share of the stock of paper and an appropriate amount of printer's labour," 1 i.e., it was about the establishment of public ownership of the means of production of printed matter.

Among the first decrees of the Soviet government was the Decree on the introduction of a state monopoly on advertisements, directly aimed at undermining the economic foundations of the bourgeois press. And if in November 1917, the liberation of the press from the oppression of capital was spoken of as a task facing the country, then less than two years later, in July 1919, speaking at the First All-Russian Congress of Education and Socialist Culture, V.I. Lenin stated that “the Bolsheviks. . . for the first time they gave freedom to the press from the capitalists ... for the first time in a vast country they created a press that does not depend on a handful of rich and millionaires ... ". The economic basis of the new, socialist freedom of the press was public ownership of the means of spiritual production.

As for the bourgeois freedom of the press, the circle of people who have a real opportunity to enjoy this freedom, although it is guaranteed by the constitution, has narrowed even more over the past decades. Press concerns are usually connected by

many threads with financial capital. Newspaper capital is intertwined, as a rule, with industrial capital, which is intertwined with banking capital. A number of the largest publishing dynasties, as already indicated, belong to the US financial elite. These are the families McCormick - Patterson, Field, Meyer - Graham, Luce, Ridder, Schiff, Cox, Coles, Chandler.

The name of press magnate W.R. Hearst is known all over the world. However, few know that he was not primarily a newspaper publisher, but the largest shareholder of the Homestake Mining Company, Lead S.D., and Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation: in Peru.

The gold and copper mines provided Hearst with income that he used to expand and strengthen his newspaper empire.

But even this did not save it from subjugation to finance capital. A significant part of his newspapers was mortgaged against preferred shares and bank loans.

The same can be said about the McCormick-Patterson family, which is primarily an industrial dynasty, and then a newspaper one. He owns the world's largest agricultural machinery plant, shares of Morgan's United States Steel Corporation and other companies. The McCormicks are related to the Rockefellers. (…)

Times have changed, and the methods of controlling the banking capital over the press have become different - more hidden, veiled; The personal dictatorship of the "robber barons" was replaced by the anonymous dictatorship of the money bag, which subjugated the entire American bourgeois press. If the direct control of the banks, i.e., the ownership of shares, covers a relatively small number of publications, even the largest and most influential, then the entire press of the United States is entangled in a network of indirect control

connected with the functioning of the newspaper enterprise in the economic system of capitalism.

Even before it has started publishing a newspaper, the publishing enterprise is already dependent on the bank, because it needs loans, in the distribution of shares. In addition, no operating publishing house, even if it makes a profit, can exist on its own, without periodically attracting funds from outside. This role of banks as creditors is extremely important. If an enterprise is in a difficult financial situation, it is the bank that decides its fate by opening a loan or refusing it. There are cases in the history of the newspaper business when unprofitable newspapers continued to be published for a long time thanks to the support of banks.

The most common methods of financing business enterprises, including newspaper publishing, are the issuance of ordinary shares, preferred shares, and bonds. Interest on ordinary shares is paid according to the income received by the corporation, while the amount of interest on preferred shares is fixed once and for all and does not depend on income. It is with these shares that the payment of dividends begins, and in the event of the liquidation of the enterprise, their owners are given a pre-emptive right to recover the value of the shares from its funds.

Dividends on ordinary shares of a profitable enterprise increase from year to year. The price of shares rises, many times higher than their nominal value. Ultimately, common stock is more profitable than preferred stock. In addition, they give their owners a say in corporate affairs.

The newspaper publishing house, being from the point of view of the economy an ordinary industrial enterprise, from the point of view of politics is a propagandistic enterprise, and

this feature of it is best seen at the very beginning of the newspaper business - in the methods of financing.

While banks sometimes offer newspaper preference shares for general sale, this is almost never the case with common stock. Thus, big capital fulfills its mission both in relation to publishers, attracting the funds they need, and in relation to the entire ruling class, helping to maintain control over the press industry in the hands of a narrow circle of persons belonging to the financial oligarchy or closely associated with it.

“The essence of publishing a newspaper makes wide public participation in ownership, such as exists in railway and industrial companies, impractical and undesirable,” explain American press theorists E. Emery, F. Ault, W. Agee. “The editorial policy of an effectively functioning newspaper cannot be the object of the struggle of shareholders with all its vicissitudes.”

In the understanding of these scholars, an "effective newspaper" is one that stands guard over the existing system, serves it faithfully. "Wide public ownership" of the newspaper, which could somehow influence its policy, is therefore declared "impractical and undesirable." As long as it concerns newspaper property, there can be no talk of so-called people's capitalism. This is all the more significant because in other branches of business the dispersion of a large part of the shares among small holders is practiced very widely.

This "democratization" of capital only makes it easier for large shareholders to consolidate control over corporations. However, this common practice is ignored in the propaganda business: the newspaper industry affects too important interests of the ruling class, so that he is not willing to give up even the smallest degree of his control over it.

Sometimes, publishers distributed some of the shares among the employees of the newspaper, as did, for example, E. W. Scripps. However, such a policy did not at all testify to the loss of the class instinct. On the contrary, it had a long-term aim: to instill in wage workers and employees the illusion of the unity of their goals with the goals of the owners, to interest them in the profits of the enterprise - in a word, to establish "class peace". But this tactic did not become popular. These days, publishers do not practice selling shares to their employees, with the exception of the newspaper elite.

Bourgeois economists, seeking to obscure the question of the dependence of industrial corporations on finance capital, defend the theory of their financial self-sufficiency. This theory appeared during the stagnation of the 1930s, when production capacities were hardly expanded and there were enough enterprise funds to replace obsolete equipment. After World War II, the situation changed. Now, in the period of the scientific and technological revolution, the winner in the competition is the one who increases production capacities at a faster pace and widely introduces automation of production.

Here one's own resources are no longer sufficient. According to the American economist W. Perlo, external sources provide about 72% of capital investment going to expand production.

Unfortunately. we do not have exact data on external financing of newspaper enterprises. Nevertheless, there is no reason to assume that they differ in any significant way from the average data for American industry as a whole.

The largest part of the capital intended for the expansion of production is supplied by banks and insurance companies, which use the issuance of bonds to raise funds. Theoretically, the bonds do not carry the right to vote, but in practice they provide the bank with significant influence, expressed in

various formal and operational restrictions to which the debtor is subject. By opening a loan, the bank is free to dictate its terms, giving the debtor the only right - to fulfill them.

By controlling the bank, the magnates of finance capital hold in their hands all the corporations that are in its sphere of influence. (…)

Newspaper publishers in the United States are exclusively private enterprises, in this area there is no direct merging of monopoly and state capital. But, being under the control of the banks, the newspapers, through their intermediary, are included in the sphere of finance capital and thus in the system of state-monopoly capitalism.

The post-war period, and especially recent years, are characterized by an intensive development of the concentration of banking capital. Parallel to this, the concentration of industrial capital is growing. The use of expensive new technology is profitable only with a significant expansion of production, which entails an increase in the financial capital of the enterprise. Periodically, such capitals turn out to be free. Placed in banks, they increase their resources and profits. In addition, the increased cost of equipment, materials and labor, the unprecedented scale of modern production, has significantly increased the minimum capital required to create a new and reorganize an existing enterprise. This led to a large increase in demand for bank credit.

As a result, the competitive positions of large banks are strengthened, since they are associated with giant industrial and commercial corporations, which supply them with the bulk of free funds and receive the bulk of loans. "As banking develops and is concentrated in a few institutions, banks grow from a modest role of intermediaries into omnipotent

monopolists, disposing of almost all the money capital of the entire set of capitalists and small proprietors, as well as most of the means of production ... in a given country and in a whole series of countries". (…)

With the increasing concentration of financial capital in recent decades, the control of the financial oligarchy over the media has increased. However, the inverse dependence of the largest monopolies on the press, radio, and television, which are effective tools for propaganda and the formation of public opinion, has also increased. c... Those who seek to consolidate economic power must, if they are to succeed, control public opinion, the means of social communication, and government. Such control is as essential to the establishment and maintenance of a monopoly as is control over the market," write American economists W. Adams and H. Gray in their book Monopoly in America. Sociologist R. Mills seems to continue their thought: "If we take a hundred of the most powerful Americans, a hundred of the richest, a hundred of the most famous and deprive them of the positions they occupy in the dominant social institutions, we will deprive them of the human and financial resources that they manage , the mass media that now work mainly for them, they will immediately turn out to be powerless, unknown, and poor ... The mass media in the form in which they are now organized and functioning ... belong ... to the number of the most important, now increased instruments of domination, which are at the disposal of the elite of the rich and those in power.

It is clear that this weapon is all the more effective the less the broad masses know who is holding it in their hands. Hence the zealous preservation of trade secrets, which are guarded especially carefully when it comes to the propaganda industry. Financial reports of newspapers, radio and television stations are rarely made public. The other side of the same

phenomenon is the desire of propagandistic monopoly owners to go into the shadows, to present the matter as if they are interested in money, and only money, and hired employees determine the policy of the mass media. R. Thomson's well-known formula became a concentrated expression of this kind of philosophy: "I make money and buy more newspapers to make more money ..."

However, this is only a half-truth: the publisher is still gaining more weight in political circles. So that the general public does not identify the monopolist and, consequently, the media belonging to him with the ruling elite, he is presented as a businessman far from politics. (…)

The thesis of bourgeois propaganda about "freedom of the press," which played a positive role in the period of the struggle against feudalism and for bourgeois freedoms, has today become nothing more than a screen to conceal the dependence of the press on capital. Economic relations and property relations play a decisive role in the issue of freedom of the press and other mass media. Freedom of the press and broadcasting on the air exists only for those who have the material opportunity to exercise it in practice. In bourgeois countries, only a narrow circle of monopolists, who have concentrated all economic and political power in their hands, have such an opportunity. "Capitalists call freedom of the press the freedom of the rich to bribe the press, the freedom to use wealth to fabricate and falsify so-called public opinion."

The economic control of capital over the means of production, paper, information, the distribution of loans and credits - in a word, the command of money - is the main thing that ensures its dominance over the media and propaganda. The bourgeois press, radio and television are the private property of the capitalist or joint-stock company.

They receive loans from banks and use their services to place their shares. Banks act as an instrument of long-term, strategic control of big capital over the press, radio, and television. Finally, advertising exercises day-to-day operational control over propaganda enterprises. This ramified system of economic control makes the mass media and propaganda a reliable instrument of political power in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

The growth of publishing costs as a factor in the process of concentration of print monopoly

Speaking of the economic pressure of capital on the press, we have in mind not those relatively few publications that are directly subordinate to the Rockefellers or Morgans, Mellons or Du Ponts, Cowdray or Rothschild, but practically the entire system of printed propaganda of the capitalist countries. If even at the beginning of our century, the magnates of finance capital quite openly bought and bribed newspapers, using them as mouthpieces for their policies, today they prefer to remain in the background, which does not make their control over the press less effective, rather, on the contrary. It is this behind-the-scenes control of capital over the press that seems to be the most important since its scope is practically unlimited. (…)

The main forms of capital control over the press, considered on the example of the United States, are common to all developed bourgeois countries. They may somehow vary depending on local conditions, change in particular, but their essence remains unchanged. In the FRG, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, the largest newspaper concerns are part of the system of state-monopoly capitalism. The most important means of capital's economic influence on the press in these countries, as in the United States, are bank credits, advertising

orders, and control over information. In Western European countries, the connection of newspapers with banks and industrial monopolies can be traced in some cases even more clearly than in the USA. Thus, in France, the magnates of the publishing business Prouveau, Beren, Boussac are, above all, major figures in the business and financial world. The largest newspaper associations in Italy are controlled by such industry giants as FIAT, Montedisson, and the Confindustria association of large industrialists. A number of distributions in this country are owned by banks and trusts.

Political control of capital

The role of the bourgeois press as an expression of the interests of big capital is revealed in modern conditions in a very complex and by no means unambiguous way. Only in a few Western European countries, such as, for example, Italy and Sweden, do the majority of influential bourgeois newspapers continue to openly advertise their party affiliation.

In other countries where the press was built on traditions of party loyalty, for example, in West Germany, France, Austria, there is now an increasing desire for "blurred" political boundaries. Only the extreme right flank of bourgeois politics and the parties that occupy it continue to have their standard-bearers and adherents in the press (Springer's newspapers in the FRG, the Daily Telegraph and the Daily Mail in England, the Oror in France, etc.).).

The rest of the press, which is especially typical for the Anglo-Saxon countries, prefers to be located somewhere in the "center" of bourgeois politics, maneuvering flexibly between "liberal" and arch-conservative approaches to the topical issues of the day.

Direct ties between individual press agencies and financial and industrial groups are even more carefully masked. But the main basis of political control over the press in the leading capitalist countries remains unshakable, insofar as the power of the owners of capital remains.

The press goes over to the maintenance of capital as a whole. This is expressed in the fact that financial control over it is, as it were, "withdrawn" from the competence of party organizations and factional groups and transferred into the mainstream of the advertising mechanism.

Using this regulatory mechanism, capital passes judgment on those organs of the press that look unviable and are doomed to wither away.

This absolute power of capital over the bourgeois press ensures on its part "loyalty of the highest order", i.e., strict adherence to the basic ideology and to all the values of the bourgeois way of life.

R. Thomson, the head of the press business, vividly showed how the political face of the propaganda l (enterprises of England) is developing: how it works out. It doesn't take a cynical person to realize that those who own wealth are usually conservatives. Newspaper owners are usually rich people. By expressing in editorials the views dictated by their owners, newspapers support conservatism. D. Aronson, the author of a number of studies of the American press, comes to a similar conclusion. But in doing so, he notes one important side of the matter, namely: “Under the concept promoted by the masters of the newspaper industry, publishers, editors, reporters, and commentators ... can say whatever they want. . . This includes criticizing government practices and specific government actions, acts of congress and local legislatures, investigating corruption…” etc.

It follows directly from this significant footnote that the political control of capital over the press is carried out in such a way as to ensure the flexible functioning of the mechanism of "two-party politics". Hence the distribution of roles between the so-called government or pro-government press, on the one hand, and the opposition, on the other. Both divisions ultimately serve the interests of preserving the bourgeois order. At the same time, such a distribution of roles is necessary to release the "excessive steam" of discontent, to prevent a social explosion.

In capitalist countries, where alongside the conservative Christian parties of the big bourgeoisie there exists a Social Democratic opposition based on mass trade union organizations, these roles are respectively played by the conservative and Social Democratic press (for example, in England, the FRG, etc.).

In those countries where the social-compromising trend in politics is not supported by an appropriate party organization, the distribution of roles is ensured by the division of the press into conservative and liberal. A typical example is the United States, where the line of the conservative circles of capital is carried out by the pro-Republican press, and the liberal line by the press adjoining the Democratic Party. With such a distribution of roles, big business does not at all strive in all cases to identify its political slogans and tactics with the slogans and tactics of only the conservative press.

For example, in the USA, big capital and its individual groupings use, and in a very active form, the "liberal" press to "level" the political positions of the bourgeois state in foreign and domestic affairs, if the actions of the state mechanism lead to extremes that are undesirable in their consequences for big business. financial capital. In the political life of England in recent years there have been cases when the so-called

independent bourgeois press (like The Times), associated with City financiers, has taken the position of open support for the Labor Party. This is especially characteristic of crisis situations (for example, in 1964-1966), during which, in the opinion of the interested circles of capital, the social democratic political machine proves its ability to better manage the affairs of capitalism, or at least provide a "social settlement" in the interests of releasing "excessive vapors". The same can be attributed to the FRG of the early 70s.

From all that has been said, the conclusion follows that the political and economic control of big capital over the press in modern conditions is not tantamount to government control over it.

Governments are administrators, empowered by financial and industrial capital to conduct day-to-day affairs. Their position is to a certain extent equivalent to that of hired managers in large capitalist corporations. Well-performing, competent managers enjoy the full support of the owners and controllers of the stock capital of the corporation. At such moments, they can give the impression of people endowed with great power. However, their "omnipotence" and "independence" turn out to be illusory as soon as the owners deprive them of their favor. Thus, the bourgeois governments govern the affairs of the country under the authority of capital, but the supreme power remains with the true owners. Capitalists - the owners of the media - are an important component of the mechanism of power. Their press stands either above the governments as the controller of the administration's policy, or alongside them as an accomplice and inspirer of policy. The "corrective" function of the bourgeois press manifests itself with particular force at such moments when the supreme interests of capital are threatened by this or that excess in the policy of the government, if the latter succumbs to the influence of the

"young" monopolies, whose reckless expansiveness gives too one-sided a direction to the political course of the country.

Let us give a few examples taken from the political life of the capitalist West of our time.

. . . In the midst of the US election campaign in the fall of 1972, President R. Nixon delivered a speech in which he scolded the “opinion makers” for not supporting his difficult, potentially unpopular decision to mine the territorial waters of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. By "opinion makers," the US chief executive meant media executives, famous editors, and publishers - he mentioned them first - as well as university presidents and professors, and some of the most prominent businessmen. This was not the first time in the country's most acute political crisis that a divergence of views on the Vietnam War between the Washington administration and the so-called "Eastern establishment" came to the surface. Much has been said about the American "establishment" before. But with his remark, R. Nixon, in essence, for the first time brought together the owners of the press and the most prominent businessmen in one center of power and influence. The president's lamentations clearly showed irritation at the fact that America's masters were aiming critical shots at him at a time when he was already busy rescuing the United States from the quagmire of the Vietnamese scam.

Almost at the same time, on the opposite side of the Atlantic Ocean - in the Federal Republic of Germany - a political brawl broke out, where the masters of the press and the ruling administration switched roles. The West German association of newspaper and magazine publishers accused the government of W. Brandt of encroaching on “freedom of the press: due to the fact that the State Prosecutor’s Office of the Federal Republic of Germany became interested in how confidential government documents fall into the hands of the

publishers of reactionary large-circulation newspapers and magazines.

In July 1972, the Quick magazine, owned by millionaire publisher G. Bauer, published a secret letter from the former finance minister, K. Schiller, to Chancellor Brandt, accusing the Social Democratic government of pursuing a "catastrophic financial policy." The publication of the letter during the pre-election struggle in the FRG was clearly calculated to undermine the positions of the Social Democrats and return the Christian Democratic government to power.

The examples cited from the political life of the two leading countries of the capitalist world show that the opinions of the proprietors of bourgeois newspapers do not in all cases coincide with the political course of the governments. At the same time, it should be said that such discrepancies do not mean at all that the ruling politicians do not find support for themselves in the media. Data published in October 1972 in the United States showed that the ratio between newspapers that supported President Nixon and the press that sided with Democratic presidential candidate Senator McGovern was 12:1.

So, the capitalist press actively interferes in political life, but the political control of capital over the press is diverse. Former US Vice President S. Agnew said at the convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in the spring of 1972: “Among you there is such a newspaper, The New York Times. She used to be an ardent supporter of American participation in the Vietnam War, and now she publicly repents, regularly scourging the president who is now getting us out of this war. Two years earlier, the same S. Agnew conducted a whole campaign to expose the "press monopolists" who criticized the R. Nixon government, after which some of the owners of the media muted the critical ardor of their commentators and

observers. This is especially true of television monopolies, which, as noted by D. Aronson, have transferred political attention "from left to right", to the views of the so-called "silent majority", that is, the middle and petty bourgeoisie.

This return of television services to the mainstream of loyalty is due not only to government pressure, but also to certain economic interests - the fear of military-industrial monopolies, with which (unlike the newspapers of the "Eastern establishment") the television companies are closely associated, for the fate of lucrative orders in the military sphere.

Within the framework of the general control of capital over the mechanism of the press, the division of bourgeois newspapers into two types plays an important role - mass ("popular") and "elitist" ("high-quality"). Each owner of the monopoly of the word, striving to have influence either on a national scale or within a region, tries to be the owner of both a mass newspaper (or a radio and television channel) and a "quality" newspaper at the same time. This is beneficial for him both economically and politically. The monopolized press thus fulfills the social order of its class in the broadest sense. Through "quality" newspapers, it solves the problem of politicizing the elite, that is, the most accurate orientation of the latter and correcting its political course.

By means of the “popular” press, it contributes to the maximum apoliticization of the masses, i.e., diverting their attention from those problems that the elite should solve (or, conversely, divert from the solution). Therefore, each stage of the regrouping of the monopoly press is consistent with the task of strengthening the propaganda influence on the two main categories of readers: those who manage the affairs of capitalism and those who are ruled. It should be noted that

there is one “dialectical” relationship in this economic process that is favorable for bourgeois publishers. (…)

As already noted, it should be borne in mind that the bourgeois media are heterogeneous in their structural ties with other branches of business. Some of them, and especially commercial television, are heavily engaged in supporting new industrial monopolies (including the military) as well as conglomerates.

And such as the American NBC, they themselves are the product of conglomeration. In these bonds of commercial television and its strength (financial), and its weakness. It becomes a colossus with feet of clay when it comes to political crises, and is forced to slow down and reduce the amount of unfavorable information, so as not to offend the monopolists who profit from the market situation, not to cut the branch on which they themselves sit. (…)

In the US, such “rear” is the concentration of large financial capital in the hands of a group of the oldest commercial and investment banks, mainly in the northeast (New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago) and partly in the west (Los Angeles). These centers of economic power handle hundreds of billions of dollars because they are also entrusted with huge holdings of insurance companies and pension funds. They are not engaged in extracting "hot" profits from short-term investments in short-term lending. In their hands are the main, long-term lines of economic activity. It is on long-term loans issued by these banks that the majority of nouveau riche businessmen, including those in the military-industrial complex, depend. (…)

Today, leaders of the propaganda business prefer to hide under the guise of business people. What has changed? At a time when the power of the capitalists was undivided and the

working people had no voice, the bourgeoisie willingly played "palace" and "cabinet" coups without the risk of losing support. The newspaper magnates openly participated in this game since it did not lead to a weakening of the general position of the ruling class.

With the entry of the proletariat into the arena of active political struggle, with the appearance of mass parties of working people, the defensive instincts of the capitalist class began to speak. His activities focused on keeping power in the hands of the monopolies at all costs and neutralizing the revolutionary movement. The owners of the media found themselves in the role of the most important force at the forefront of this class struggle because they had weapons in their hands that could be directed against the millions of people.

There are many such methods of bourgeois propaganda that serve as mass distractions: sensationalism, propaganda of vulgarity, erotica, and criminality. But next to them, although not striking, direct political levers of propaganda are no less active in order to preserve the existing order and counteract the onset of progressive ideas. (…)

Summing up the observations on the practice of the modern press of the West, we can reduce the various manifestations of the political control of the capitalists over the press to the following main types:

1-**Absolute control.** It is expressed in a direct combination of political and economic control in the hands of one owner or a separate family group, who openly and consistently pursue the political views of an influential grouping of big capital and the corresponding bourgeois party. This type of control was especially characteristic of the early stage of press

monopolization. But even now it is carried out in many countries of Western Europe…

In the countries of Asia, the press of the capitalist families in India and Japan comes close to this type. The form of absolute control remains very typical of a number of Latin American countries, with the peculiarity that the political course of the local press magnates simultaneously expresses the interests of the American monopolies that are in charge here.

2. **Two-stage control.** In this case, the ownership of information bodies remains in the same hands. However, the capitalist boss strives to maintain the decorum of the "separation" of financial control from political control, following the general direction of the press organs subject to him and entrusting the day-to-day running of business to the editor-in-chief. A typical example is Newhouse's press monopoly in the USA and R. Thomson's publishing concern, which includes many newspapers in England, the USA, Canada, and a number of other countries.

For such owners, the main criterion for the "correctness: the political course of their publications is how they adapt to the interests of local centers of economic power, and primarily banks, as well as commercial and industrial companies.

3. **Corporate control** is very similar to the previous type of control, but with the difference that the ownership of the press is "incorporated", that is, in the hands of a group of shareholders or corporations of a conglomerate type

4. **Mixed (state-monopoly) control** manifests itself most typically in the media with the so-called public status. First of all, these are the radio and television services of most Western European capitalist states, as well as Canada, Japan, and a number of other countries.

The political line of such media is determined either directly through government administrators (France) or through founding councils, which correct this line, taking into account the interests and influence of various groups of the ruling bourgeoisie (England, the FRG, etc.).

5. **Direct party control.** This form has become less common in the practice of the bourgeois press, with the exception of Scandinavia, Italy, and some other countries. The "big" bourgeois press, as a rule, does not advertise its ties with party headquarters, since subsidizing through advertising channels is the most convenient form of masking the fusion of such a press with big capital. To a much greater extent, the mouthpieces of the "opposition" political currents in the two-party mechanism of power, especially social democratic newspapers (for example, in Germany), are connected with the party centers, since they account for less advertising subsidies.

6. **Cooperative control.** It began to develop in connection with the introduction into practice of the so-called “co-ownership”, or “share participation”, of newspaper employees in equity capital. The most typical example is the French newspaper Le Monde. Such press organs tend to look "independent", but in reality they remain in the orbit of economic dependence on those advertising channels, which receive funds from the state-monopoly sector.

Such a form of control can serve well those circles of capital that strive to keep pace with the scientific and technological revolution and operate in new industries (electronics, synthetic chemistry, etc.). (…)

The political control of capital over the bourgeois press manifests itself in the conditions of different countries in specific forms determined by the historical socio-economic

characteristics of each individual country. At the same time, it has a number of common features common to all countries. The process of concentration and monopolization of the bourgeois press reduces to a minimum the number of individuals and organizations in charge of the media.

The party membership of the owner of the press monopoly fits into a more flexible socio-political framework. Before the split of the world into two camps, the owner of a newspaper measured his party membership by belonging to one or another faction of bourgeois politics. Now, when all capital takes over the press for its collective maintenance, and when the bourgeoisie has to defend its dominant position in the struggle against the organized labor movement, against the ideas of the socialist revolution, the partisanship of the media owner is measured by his ability to maneuver within the framework of the mechanism of bipartisan politics.

In other words, the criterion of common class interests of the bourgeoisie is placed above the criterion of factional interests. Control by banks and other financial centers, the entire mechanism of economic regulation of the activities of the bourgeois press is aimed, on the one hand, at strengthening multi-sectoral propaganda monopolies that perform the function of "de-ideologization" of the working masses, and on the other hand, at supporting "elite" newspapers that correct the political activity of the bourgeois apparatus of power in the interests of the capitalist system in the ashes.

BOURGEOIS STATE AND JOURNALISM

Bourgeois state and mass media

As part of the system of state-monopoly capitalism, the media are subject not only to the direct influence of capital, as described in the previous chapters of the book, but also to the influence of the bourgeois state - its legislative, judicial, and executive power. Moreover, recently this influence on the press, radio, and television has been noticeably intensifying, which is by no means accidental. The development of the world revolutionary process, the further merging of the state apparatus with the monopolies entail certain changes in the very institution of the bourgeois state.

The aggravation of class contradictions in capitalist society and the ideological struggle in the international arena, as well as the consequences of the scientific and technological revolution in the field of mass media, are forcing the bourgeois state power to intrude more actively into the sphere of ideology. Under these conditions, the ideological activity of the bourgeois state after the Second World War, in the opinion of Soviet legal scholars, "turned into one of its main functions."

To implement it, the bourgeois state has already created and continues to improve a special apparatus, which, in particular, is pursuing its policy towards the mass media.

The institutions of the bourgeois state - the legislative, judicial, and executive branches - regulate the economy of the private capitalist press, radio, television, restrict the right to publish and the right to access information, exercise administrative control over the printed word and broadcast, manipulate the information flow emanating from state sources, contain their own information services.

As you can see, the mechanism of influence of the capitalist state on the press, radio, television is multifaceted and sometimes quite subtle. At its core, it has a class essence, which is diligently obscured by bourgeois theoreticians. The ideologists of the capitalist world consider the specific problem of the influence of the bourgeois state on the mass media within the framework of a general broad concept of the relationship of some abstract power to some abstract means of transmission, ideas, and opinions.

According to them, only in the dead times of feudalism and absolutism, the mass media of today's bourgeois countries, represented then only by the press, were completely and unconditionally under the heel of an alien power, subjected to unlimited censorship and persecution by the church, the king, and various non-representative councils. At the end of the 18th century, i.e., with the establishment of the bourgeois system, “the winds of a new attitude to the press blew” and gradually (read, with the final victory of the bourgeoisie) it freed itself from the harsh restrictions of power.

Under this kind of theory, the bourgeois philosophical concept of the development of the state is summed up in the form of a foundation: before the state towered over man, now man rises above the state. And this new state, based on the natural, inalienable right of man, as stated in the American Declaration of Independence, made the press "collectively as free as a person is free individually."

The “golden age of freedom of the press” that had begun later allegedly gave its fruits to the newest mass media - radio and television.

In confirmation of these theoretical propositions, articles of bourgeois constitutions are often cited, which guarantee freedom of transmission of thoughts and opinions. Indeed, the

constitutional legislation of bourgeois countries, which establishes the basis for the legal status of the mass media (mainly the press), as a rule, proclaims freedom of action in the exchange of ideas for all members of society.

For example, the authors of the Constitution of the French Republic of 1958, without specifically mentioning the press, radio, television, rank the freedom to communicate opinions to others as an inalienable human right proclaimed in the famous "Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen" during the Great French Revolution. "Congress should not make laws. . . restricting freedom of speech or the press…" reads the first of ten amendments to the US Constitution, collectively known as the Bill of Rights.

England does not have a written constitution. Its basic law consists of many statutes, precedents, constitutional customs. And among them, of course, there is nothing that directly denies freedom of speech or the press. Since 1870, in other words, since the abolition of the last tax on the press, the authors of the Encyclopedia Britannica conclude on this subject, the English press has enjoyed complete freedom, which "rests on a constitutional rather than a legislative basis."

Guarantees of freedom of speech and the press fixed in form can be found both in the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany and in the post-war constitutions of Japan, Italy, and other countries of state-monopoly capitalism.

However, already here, in the constitutional legislation, it is often emphasized that the bourgeois state reserves the right to restrict the mass media. For example, article 21 of the Constitution of the Italian Republic provides for the confiscation of printed publications "on the basis of a reasoned act of the judiciary in cases of such offenses in which the press law expressly permits confiscation, or in case of

violation of the rules that this law prescribes for the identification of responsible persons. In cases of absolute urgency, and where timely intervention of the judiciary is not possible, the confiscation of periodicals may be carried out by officials of the judicial police ... The law establishes measures to ensure the prevention and suppression of violations".

As you know, the provisions of constitutions are not a legislative norm, they only proclaim the principles that the legislature must put into practice. And provisions such as the said article of the Italian constitution leave a wide field of action for the authorities. Therefore, in the current legislation of the bourgeois countries, the proclaimed constitutional freedoms turn out to be rather curtailed. At the same time, even in some renewed post-war "democracies", the ruling class adopted certain laws of great antiquity, or even simply fascist states. In the FRG, for example, in most states the Imperial Press Law of 1874 is still valid, while in Italy the law of the fascist state of February 26, 1928, on the inclusion of all journalists in special lists, remains in effect.

Finally, one cannot discount the fact that in a period of intensification of the class struggle, the monopoly bourgeoisie can resort to fascist or military dictatorship and completely discard even the semblance of constitutional freedoms, as was the case in Hitler's Germany or in Italy under Mussolini's regime. Such "legitimate" suppression of the media is not such an exceptional precedent that has irrevocably become the property of history. The so-called Committee on Freedom of Information, created under one of the US journalistic organizations, reported in one of the reports that from 20 countries of Latin America "reports have been received of repressive laws and decrees that threaten the freedom of the press in varying degrees ...".

It would be wrong to say that bourgeois ideologists are completely oblivious to these legislative restrictions. Of course, they cannot but admit the obvious facts. But, recognizing them, the heralds of bourgeois freedoms declare these restrictions (apart from frankly fascist repressions) to be exceptional, reasonable, natural, designed, in the words of one West German professor, not so much to restrict the freedom of the press (radio, television), as "to protect society or individuals from perversions of "freedom of the press".

Consequently, in polemics with the authors of bourgeois conceptions of freedom of information, the question is not whether or not the bourgeois state imposes restrictions on the press, radio, television, but the essence of these restrictions is whether they protect society and the individual in general from perversions of "freedom of the press". ” or act as an instrument of the ruling class, which is used to realize and protect its interests. Before proceeding to a concrete analysis of this problem, one very significant clarification should be made. Arguing about freedom of information and the "perversions" of this freedom, bourgeois ideologists, as already indicated, speak of a kind of non-class press, non-class radio and television.

But these do not exist in practice. In the system of state-monopoly capitalism, on the one hand, the bourgeois press, radio, television, which act as instruments of the class rule of the bourgeoisie and allies of the bourgeois state, function, on the other hand, the progressive and communist press is an instrument of the oppressed class, an enemy of the bourgeois state. The levers of state influence on the mass media, which are so different in their goals and objectives, naturally cannot be of the same type.

The bourgeois, who presents his interest as universal, of course, tries to hide this behind the neutral wording of the articles of the law, "obligatory for all."

However, let's take a closer look at some of the definitions. Long before the appearance of the Basic Law of the FRG, V. I. Lenin wrote: “There is not a single, even the most democratic state, where there are no loopholes or reservations in the constitutions that provide the bourgeoisie with the opportunity to move troops against the workers, introduce martial law, etc. "in cases of violation of the order" - in fact, in the case of "violation" by the exploited class of its slavish position and attempts to behave in a non-slavish manner. And now Article 18 is introduced into the Fundamental Law of the "newest" post-war German democracy, which almost literally repeats the wording ironically put in quotation marks by V. I. Lenin. This article reads: "Everyone who uses the freedom of expression, in particular the freedom of the press (paragraph 1 of article 5) ... to fight against the foundations of a free democratic order, is deprived of these fundamental rights."

In the light of Lenin's words cited above, approaching the matter from class positions, we will clearly see that the "universal formulation" of Article 18 of the Constitution of the FRG is directed not against the press of the monopolies, not against the press that is an ally of the bourgeois state: such a press will not encroach on the foundations of a "free democratic order”, which is understood as the existing bourgeois system. This wording is directed against the progressive press. The same differentiated approach of the bourgeois state to the media is found both in the current legislation and in the practical application of the rule of law through the judiciary or executive power. However, let us turn to the specific practice of influencing the bourgeois state on the press, radio, and television.

Leverage of economic influence on the press, radio, television

The mass media in the system of state-monopoly capitalism act, on the one hand, as capitalist production enterprises, and on the other, as an ideological institution. While defining the foundations of the legal status of the press, radio, and television, bourgeois constitutions do not specifically affect their production and economic status.

In this sense, the foundations of the legal status of the mass media are enshrined in constitutions by the general principles of the dominance of private ownership of the means of production. Taking them for granted, bourgeois ideologists, when studying the problems of freedom of information, quite rarely talk about the state's levers of influence on the economy of the press, radio, and television.

Needless to say, economic levers do not influence the content of a particular newspaper issue, a particular radio program as much as, for example, laws on security, state secrets, or the threat of confiscation hanging over another print publication. However, this does not mean that their influence is less strong. It is the basis that determines the superstructure, and, mindful of its primacy, we should first of all consider this side of the relationship of the bourgeois state to the media.

The economy of the press, radio, television is regulated by the state mainly by the legislative and, on its basis, the executive branch, although in the event of a conflict, the intervention of the judiciary is not ruled out.

Economic legislation as applied to the mass media is largely associated with the processes of concentration and monopolization taking place in them. In England, the problems caused by these processes were tried to be solved by

two royal press commissions, which worked in 1947-1949 and in 1961-1962. None of their recommendations were fully accepted into law, but in 1965 Parliament passed an act on monopolies and mergers, which placed the consideration of the merger of newspapers within the competence of the Ministry of Commerce and its advisory body, the Commission on Monopolies.

In consultation with this commission when necessary, the ministry may prohibit a particular concern from acquiring new newspapers if it finds that the merger is "contrary to the public interest." A similar antitrust law, which has jurisdiction II over the press, exists in the United States. Even stricter legislation applies here to radio and television, which, unlike the radio and television of some other countries of state-monopoly capitalism, operate on a commercial basis and do not directly act as the official or semi-official mouthpiece of the government.

The Federal Communications Commission, the government agency of broadcasting and television in the United States, among other administrative powers authorized by the Communications Act of 1934, has the express power to limit the number of radio and television stations in the hands of one owner. In accordance with paragraph 335 of the commission's statutes, a license to acquire a new standard (amplitude modulated) radio station cannot be granted to someone "who already owns or controls another such station serving essentially the same area, unless he prove that it serves the public interest."

In the whole country, according to the charter of the commission, one owner is forbidden to have more than seven radio stations operating on the principle of amplitude modulation, seven stations operating on the principle of frequency modulation, and seven different types of television

stations. Radio owners who protested these restrictions did not meet with the support of the US Supreme Court, although he added that "in the public interest" the commission may, at its discretion, go beyond the established limits.

Recently, the Federal Communications Commission has made an attempt to ban the creation of radio-newspaper associations. A rule was introduced that in the same service area, newspaper owners cannot simultaneously own a radio or television station. All these measures of the state in the field of regulating the economy of the media cause dissatisfaction among the magnates of the propaganda business, especially the owners of American radio stations. Thus, the decision of the Federal Communications Commission to ban the creation of combined radio-newspaper associations was called by the magazine of American publishers, without hiding disapproval, "the first example of a federal law adopted by decree of the executive branch, and not by Congress."

The president of the National Broadcasting Company, Goodman, was even more emphatic when he said that "the pressure on radio is felt now, probably more than at any time in our history." In the light of such statements, the arguments of bourgeois ideologists about the freedom of the media from the state would look more than doubtful here. However, the described measures of the legislative and executive authorities seem to be reasonable, directed against "perversions of freedom of information" in regard to its economic foundations.

Has the bourgeois state really seriously undertaken to limit the power of the monopolies in the field of the mass media, i.e., the power of its ally, to please the interests of all members of society or, to use the language of bourgeois legislative and administrative acts, in the public interest? Of course not.

Whether the radio tycoon owns seven or seventy stations, whether the newspaper and the radio station are in the same hands or not, the freedom of a Liverpool dock worker or a Detroit machine builder to "communicate his thoughts" through radio and print does not at all depend on this. But why, then, does the bourgeois state impose restrictions, ignoring the discontent of the pillars supporting it?

Approaching the question from a Marxist point of view, it is not difficult to see what the matter is. In addition to the basic, main contradictions of bourgeois society - between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between the exploiters and the exploited - there are also contradictions within the ruling class. And the bourgeois state, one of the functions of which is to provide and protect the conditions for the capitalist exploitation of the working people, is forced to regulate these contradictions. In this case, in the sphere of economic control over the bourgeois mass media, it limits the private interests of individual monopoly groups in the interests of the entire ruling class.

This role of the bourgeois state as a regulator of intra-class contradictions of the bourgeoisie in the interests of the entire ruling class is rather limited. But sometimes it shows up quite well. This happened during the Second World War in Great Britain, when the British government established direct control over the entire economy of the country, including the economy of the press. Paper and pulp were delivered to England from abroad, that is, through an enemy blockade. Naturally, their receipt has sharply decreased.

Therefore, the government has administratively limited the total number of pages for each publication. A limit was set on paper for each newspaper, and in connection with this, a limit on advertising space. Moreover, ad prices have been raised

and protected by special measures against competitive pressure.

If the government had not taken such drastic measures, states an American bourgeois researcher, "the press would have ceased to exist...". With the help of the government, the British bourgeois press not only did not cease to exist, but also stabilized to a large extent: during the war years, the process of concentration and monopolization in it ceased. Moreover, it was held back to some extent in the post-war years, as the government released the press from its control gradually, lifting the last economic restrictions in 1956. As a result, due to the containment of large newspaper magnates, the entire bourgeois press was temporarily stabilized, and the common interests of the ruling class were won. (…)

Thus, restrictive measures in the field of the economics of the bourgeois media are nothing but the regulation of contradictions within the ruling class, and not the restriction of "perversions" of the economic foundations of the notorious freedom of the press and radio in the interests of all members of society. In addition, the regulation itself, as already mentioned, is very conditional. If the bourgeois state could fully regulate contradictions, bourgeois society would be a society of "planned capitalism". But it never was and never will be. Its legislation always leaves loopholes for circumventing the law in the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie. If such loopholes do not formally exist, the law is actually circumvented, and such violations often receive legal sanction in the future. (…)

The big newspaper monopolies benefit from both increases and decreases in government benefits for the press as a whole. The French communist weekly showed that government measures to raise postage rates, increase taxes and increase paper prices contributed to the concentration in the press, that

is, to the further economic strengthening of the press of the monopolies.

As we can see, the measures of economic regulation of information production, by virtue of the very nature of state-monopoly capitalism, constantly play into the hands of the largest, and hence the most consistent government-supporting publishing concerns. Moreover, in the most critical situations, the executive power can always use - and does use - economic levers to directly suppress the dissatisfied, depriving state benefits of progressive publications or "too critical" bourgeois press organs. Thus, during the First World War, the US Postmaster General was given the right to withdraw preferential postal rates from newspapers and magazines that he considered rebellious or inflammatory.

This right was immediately put into play. Reduced postage was denied to the Southern Georgia magazine The Jeffersonian, which dared to call conscription unconstitutional when CIPA was not in immediate danger of war, and the Milwaukee Leader for its anti-war rhetoric. Both of these discriminatory measures were supported by various judicial instances. Their decision actually legitimized the transformation of "equal for all" levers of economic regulation of the press into administrative levers for suppressing press organs objectionable to the ruling circles.

The state in the system of state-monopoly capitalism not only controls the economy, but also invests financial resources in production, including information production. The methods of these contributions are different, but they all lead one way or another to political control of the press, radio, television. (…)

The Public Broadcasting Corporation is fully funded by the government. Its directorate of 15 is appointed by the President

of the United States with the advice and consent of the Senate. It is quite obvious that in this case the economic levers turn directly into the levers of administrative control, the mechanism of action of which will be considered later.

Summing up, it should be said that the impact of the bourgeois state on the media economy has two aspects. On the one hand, the regulation of intra-class production contradictions of the owners of information media is carried out. This regulation is always carried out in the interests of large information monopolies, whose owners, by virtue of their belonging to monopoly circles, themselves most consistently defend the interests of the ruling class as a whole in print publications, radio, and television programs.

Thus, already exercising "purely economic" regulation, the state indirectly ensures that the mass media carry out the line it wants. On the other hand, it directly uses its financial investments for direct administration, direct control over the mass media as an ideological institution. An even tighter control of the bourgeois state over this last and most important aspect of information production is revealed when considering the levers of its influence on the mass media as a "purely superstructural" institution.

Judicial responsibility and self-censorship of information bodies

In any capitalist state, there are laws that restrict the right of publication and the right of access to information. Violation of them by the press, radio, television is prosecuted through the judiciary. Consider first the legal provisions that restrict the right to publish. Despite some differences, they have features common to all capitalist countries.

Significant restrictions on the media are imposed, for example, by a law enshrined in Italy in the form of Article 596 of the Criminal Code (on defamation by means of a press), and in England and the United States known as the libel law.

At the very beginning of the formation of bourgeois legal norms in England, slanderous actions were divided into two main categories: actions considered in civil order at the suit of the injured party, and criminal actions, prosecuted with the participation of a public prosecutor.

This division is firmly entrenched in English law and now exists not only in England, but also in other, especially English-speaking countries, in particular in the USA.

The slander of the first kind includes statements and publications that damage a person or his professional reputation, the slander of the second kind includes statements and publications relating mainly to statesmen, government institutions, laws, as well as insulting religion and morality.

As we can see, with the exception of religion and morality, criminal slander affects the area of state foundations, and therefore it is more correct to consider the legislative provisions related to it on a par with acts aimed at ensuring the security of the bourgeois state. In the meantime, let's touch on the laws on libel in their, so to speak, civil refraction.

In this aspect, the libel laws in England and the United States punish significant amounts of fines for false statements that damage the individual. Formally, everything here looks reasonable and fair: if the information body proves the veracity of the facts in the trial, it is completely released from liability. Moreover, accurate records of legislative and judicial meetings are exempted from liability, even if they reproduce statements that do not correspond to the truth. In this case, the

owner of the newspaper or radio-television station only has to prove the accuracy of the report itself.

In the United States, a number of legal precedents have formed the basis of the concept that government officials can only receive civil defamation damages when the publication is made with "malicious intent or with apparent carelessness as to the truthfulness of the facts," and famous personalities when the body information has deviated from "accepted standards of investigation and reporting that are generally followed by responsible publishers." In addition, in England and the United States, the law protects "honest comments" prepared on the basis of true facts or accurate reports of various official meetings.

It would seem that these laws act in the interests of all members of society and protect the rights of every individual. However, there is a huge distance from the proclaimed legal principles to concrete bourgeois judicial practice. First of all, in clear contradiction with federal law, the laws of some US states do not consider "the truth as a complete defense (against prosecution. - Yu. V.) if the publication was made for malicious motives." In other states, along with the veracity of the facts, it is required to prove that "the publication was made for legitimate purposes or that the issue raised in it is a matter of public interest." Even these formulations give wide scope for judicial arbitrariness, for the persecution of progressive publications. In addition, we must not forget that the interpretation of even "liberal" provisions of laws is always within the competence of the bourgeois court. The notions of malicious intent, nonchalance about the truth of facts, or the honesty of comments are highly elastic. (…)

But most importantly, news agencies are generally afraid to publish critical materials when they affect members of the ruling class. “The situation is simple in the case of materials

against the have-nots: print and be damned," admits the bourgeois author. "It is more difficult to do this when it comes to people with means who can use the opportunity to squeeze money out of the newspaper and have enough pounds to spend them to achieve this goal."

Significantly limit the right to publish materials contempt of court laws, the provisions of which are particularly stringent in England. Information agencies are prohibited from commenting on court cases until a verdict has been passed on them, and in the case of an appeal, until the last appeal instance has spoken. In various ways, materials are punished that, being published before the trial, influenced the court, and interfered with the "administration of justice". In some cases, criticism of the court's decision is prosecuted. Thus, in the United States, judicial practice for a long time gave the right to punish a journalist to the hands of the most criticized judge. In 1941, a Supreme Court decision set a precedent. By virtue of this precedent, such power of judges is limited. However, in England judges can still use it.

In England and the United States, a journalist's refusal to disclose, at the request of a judicial authority, the sources of his information is considered contempt of court. In Germany, this legal provision is also enshrined in a special article of the Criminal Code, which significantly narrows the right to maintain editorial secrecy. The law on contempt of court in England very peculiarly closes and interacts with the law on libel in its civil aspect. Persons who have been presented in an unfavorable light by the media often sue for defamation, and then the law on contempt of court automatically stops the media outlet's attempts to prove the truthfulness of the material: after filing a lawsuit, the determination of the truthfulness or falsity of facts and comments becomes entirely within the jurisdiction of the court. Moreover, when a libel

case is initiated against one newspaper, another media outlet also does not risk commenting on the issue raised, because as a result of the proceedings, the court may decide in favor of the plaintiff, and in this case, comments and facts against the plaintiff automatically become an act of contempt of court. At the same time, if the plaintiff refutes only one fact out of many, the entire article or note is recognized as slanderous and the information agency is punished. (…)

Of course, the laws described above restrict not only the progressive press, but also the bourgeois media. However, it would be a mistake to believe that, by suppressing the capitalist press, radio, television, the bourgeois state is acting against some kind of adversary acting in the interests of all members of society, as opposed to the interests of the ruling circles. The aims of the bourgeois mass media and the bourgeois state are the same. And if the state mechanism restrains its ally in the person of the bourgeois information organs, then it does this solely to ensure that information that is beneficial to some groups of those in power, but objectionable to the entire ruling class as a whole or its individual powerful representatives, does not become the property of the broad masses. In this case, the bourgeois state performs the same function of regulating intra-class contradictions that it performs by controlling the economy of the capitalist mass media.

At the same time, as we have seen, the vague wording of the “equal for all” law gives the judiciary the opportunity to move, if necessary, from regulating the media of the ruling class to suppressing critics of the capitalist order. This transition is especially noticeable when the "plaintiff" in court cases is the bourgeois state itself, through the government, when laws protecting the foundations of bourgeois society come into effect. (…)

Hence it is clear that the ruling circles of any capitalist country have at their disposal powerful means of suppressing unfavorable information. The variety of laws and the breadth of their formulations allow the bourgeois court to apply them differentially in relation to the ally of the state - the bourgeois mass media and in relation to its opponent - the communist and progressive press.

When The New York Times published on June 15, 1971, some documents from the Pentagon's secret "Vietnam Archives", the government immediately accused the newspaper of violating the already mentioned 1951 Extinction Act, known as Section 793(e) of Section 18 US Criminal Code. On this basis, a New York federal court ordered the paper to cease further publication pending trial. 1. A later lower court decision halted publication of the Pentagon Papers in the Washington Post and Boston Globe. But two weeks after the first material appeared in print, the Supreme Court by a six-to-three vote "rejected the government's contention that the release of the Pentagon Papers was detrimental to U.S. national security," and newspapers were allowed to continue publishing the "Vietnamese Archive." Bourgeois ideologists immediately declared this proof of the freedom of the press in the country. Meanwhile, there can be no question of any abstract freedom.

The clash between the government and the bourgeois newspapers was a clash between the bourgeois state and its ally, which adheres to a different line of tactics, with a complete coincidence of strategic goals. The publishers of The New York Times and The Washington Post are just as concerned about preserving the foundations of the capitalist system as the US government, and if they publish material that is objectionable to it, they know what they are doing.

Along with the forces behind the continuation of the aggression in Vietnam, there were certain circles in the United

States in 1971 that tended to be more realistic. By that time, a number of businessmen, such as the chairman of the board of directors of one of the corporations, millionaire M. Eccles, representatives of the top military leadership, and prominent public figures, advocated an end to the Vietnam War by that time. In one of its monthly reports, the Morgan Bank stated that "war drains the budget, slows down research and development."

As we can see, influential forces from the ruling circles stood behind the bourgeois newspapers that dared to go against the government. Therefore, in this case, the court did not bring down its power on the "obstinate" news agencies.

V. I. Lenin pointed out that class dictatorship “means the destruction (or the most significant restriction, which is also one of the types of destruction) of democracy, for the class over which or against which the dictatorship is being exercised”, but it “does not necessarily mean the destruction of democracy for of the class which exercises this dictatorship over other classes.

The fact that the judiciary did not support the government in this case and stopped the persecution of the newspapers was not a manifestation of some kind of general abstract freedom of the press, not some kind of abstract democracy, but precisely "democracy for the rich."

The loss of the state (in the person of its executive power) in this "democratic conflict" does not mean anything out of the ordinary. To speak of the complete subordination of monopolies to the state mechanism, notes V. E. Guliyev, “means to pay tribute to the revisionist ideas of “organized capitalism” or “state socialism”. This view is inconsistent with reality." V. I. Lenin, the scientist points out further, gave the only correct assessment of the interaction of the state

apparatus with the monopolies, describing it as a relationship, so to speak, of two head clerks in one office. (…)

Protecting to one degree or another democracy for the rich, the capitalists, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, “thousands of tricks - all the more skillful and faithfully acting, the more developed “pure” democracy - repel the masses from participation in management, from freedom of assembly and prints, etc.” Bourgeois legislation on state secrets and anti-government propaganda is directed mainly against the progressive and communist press. When its publications, in the opinion of the bourgeoisie, touch too much on the foundations of the existing system, bourgeois law falls upon progressive publications with all its might. (…)

The influence of the legislature on radio and television in the United States is especially great. The government body for control over broadcasting and television, the Federal Communications Commission, is itself under the constant control of various commissions, subcommittees, and congressional committees, in particular the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce and Foreign Trade. These bodies determine the budget of the Federal Commission. In addition, ad hoc committees are appointed from time to time to review its activities. The Federal Communications Commission, notes the American author, "has been the object of congressional investigation or has been under the threat of such an investigation virtually every year since its inception."

The useful powers of the legislature can at any moment become levers for suppressing the media. Suffice it to recall the activity of the notorious Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Un-American Activities, chaired by the reactionary Senator D. McCarthy. (…)

All of the above allows us to conclude that through the legislative and judicial power, the bourgeois state exerts a powerful influence on the mass media as an institution of the superstructure. The law directly restricts the right to both publication and access to information, and the judicial interpretation of the law makes it possible to apply it flexibly and differentially, on the one hand, to the bourgeois mass media, an ally of the bourgeois state, on the other hand, to the progressive press, hostile to the ruling class. The power of the judiciary is supplemented by the powers of the legislature.

However, the possibilities of the bourgeois state to influence the mass media do not end there. The state also has administrative (extrajudicial) levers of pressure, which are activated by the executive branch, i.e. government and local executive bodies.

Administrative Influence on the media

The executive power, as well as the legislative and judicial power of the state, influences the press, radio, and television in two directions: by restricting the right to publish and closing access to information. Both directions, of course, intersect at certain points, and therefore clear dividing lines cannot be drawn here. Nevertheless, the main points of both directions can still be distinguished. Consider first the restrictions on publishing rights.

Having in reserve measures of administrative punishment for offenses already committed by information agencies, the executive branch seeks, first of all, to use its powers in order to prevent the publication of undesirable materials. In ideal (from the point of view of the ruling class) cases, this results in voluntary self-censorship of information agencies.

In England, a special Committee of the Armed Forces, Press and Broadcasting, which exists under the Ministry of Defense and includes representatives of the media, systematically sends so-called "D-notifications" to newspapers, radio, and television. They prescribe not to publish certain information, warning that its disclosure would be contrary to the law on the protection of state secrets, with all the responsibility that entails.

Officially, "D-notifications" are designed to warn journalists about the importance of a particular category of information for the defense and security of the country. In practice, the committee (and even its secretary when discussing the issue with committee members) does not provide any evidence to justify the ban on publication, and journalists must take the order on faith, guided by the principle: the government knows best. As the British bourgeois publishers themselves have repeatedly pointed out, the "D-Notices" touch upon more than just security issues. However, due to the lack of arguments in the instructions, journalists cannot always determine whether a particular publication will or will not violate the law, and therefore voluntarily obey the administrative order. (…)

The censorship of the information organs sometimes acquires an informal and semi-official character. When the Miami Herald's Washington correspondent Creslow, before the provocation in the Gulf of Pigslow, wrote about preparations in the United States for counter-revolutionary troops to land in Cuba, the editors of the publication questioned whether to print the message. The correspondent and the head of the newspaper's bureau in Washington turned to the then director of the US Central Intelligence Agency A. Dulles "for advice". He said that the publication would cause serious damage to national interests. After that, the publishers of the newspaper

quite definitely told the correspondent that the article would not go.

Where the government fails to prevent the publication of undesirable materials, it often resorts to various measures of punishment for objectionable publications that have already appeared, which in the future also leads to increased self-censorship of newspapers, radio, and television. With regard to the press proper, the executive power in a number of capitalist countries has at its disposal, for example, such a punitive administrative measure as a ban on the distribution of "seditious" publications by mail. In the United States, despite the absence of a corresponding legislative act, the Minister of Posts actually arrogated this right to himself during the years of the Civil War, and since then the postal services for decades have not even known its formal restriction.

The power usurped by the postal service to impose bans on the distribution of press organs is used in addition to the already mentioned statutory right to deprive objectionable publications of preferential shipping rates. Officially, only publications that harm public interests or morality are subject to a ban on distribution. In practice, postal services refuse to distribute literature which, at the sole discretion of officials, is classified as "rebellious, incendiary," that is, which sharply affects the interests of the ruling class. (…)

The practice of bourgeois administration has developed various forms of "personal" punishment of delinquent journalists. In Italy, the right to work in the information bodies is received only by persons included in special government lists. Any journalist can be expelled from them for "serious professional misconduct". This gives the government ample opportunity to get rid of political opponents when it sees fit.

Administrative punishment of a journalist is often carried out through the media owners themselves. The American journalist E. Janivey, "who wrote a critical note on the policies of the administration, found that one Texas newspaper refused his materials after Valenti (special assistant to the President of the United States. -U.V.) called the editor."

In July 1965, then US Deputy Secretary of State T. Mann expressed dissatisfaction with the coverage of the American invasion of the Dominican Republic by correspondents of The New York Times and The Washington Post. He hinted that he spoke with the editors of these newspapers regarding the renewal of contracts with the authors of these reports. Meanwhile, Mann himself, in a statement to the Senate commission, confirmed the facts, “for reporting which journalists were accused of “bias”. However, the publishers did not subsequently renew their contracts with the "delinquent" reporters.

One should not be surprised at such submissiveness of the pillars of the "free press". As representatives of the ruling class, they care about its interests no less than the administration and are always ready to cooperate with the government if ordinary journalists, among whom dissatisfaction with the policies of the ruling circles is growing, go too far.

In critical situations, the government often uses repressive police measures.

In accordance with article 30 of the Criminal Code, concerning security issues, the French authorities have repeatedly subjected various publications to fines and confiscation without any legal proceedings. During the events in Algiers, newspapers and magazines were subjected to police

harassment under Article I0 of the Criminal Code and other provisions of the law.

Fines, confiscations, bans, of course, sometimes affect the "too bold publications" of the bourgeois media, but they are mainly directed against the progressive press. During the ultra-revolt in Algeria in January 1960, the publications of the Communist Party were the first to be repressed in France. Circulations of L'Humanite, the weekly Vua Kommunist, the communist newspaper Liberte in r. Lille. By order of the Minister of the Interior, without trial or investigation for a long period, the English communist newspaper The Daily Worker was closed in 1941. After the ban of the Communist Party of Germany in Germany, all its publications were automatically banned.

Many of the levers of administrative influence mentioned above relate mainly to the press. With regard to radio and television, of course, they are also applied to one degree or another. However, government influence on propaganda through the air has its own specifics. Since the progressive forces do not have the means to create a radio and television network, the radio and television of the capitalist countries are wholly bourgeois. In this case, the bourgeois state in general and its executive power in particular deal exclusively with its ally.

Therefore, the bourgeois state mechanism seeks to exercise its control over the ether not so much with the help of punitive measures, but rather by providing general guidance for the main directions of propaganda. This task is carried out both through the legislature and through the executive branch, which is well aware of the enormous propaganda power of radio and television. (…)

In addition to the levers of economic influence discussed above, commercial plants are subject to intensive

administrative regulation measures. The US Federal Communications Commission is called upon to regulate not only the technical side of broadcasting - the distribution of waves between stations, etc. Its charter gives it the right to control advertising, ensure that candidates for elected office are given equal time, etc. Prior censorship of specific programs are officially banned. But since a radio station is required by law to re-authorize broadcasts every three years, the commission has the ability to "evaluate a station's performance as a whole when it comes to renewing a license."

In a broad sense, this means control over radio and television programs. The law gives the commission the power to renew a license only if the station has "satisfactorily served the public interest." Any violation of bourgeois laws and rules of the commission is regarded as inconsistent with the public interest and "may be grounds for withdrawing the license from the station." But the courts, as a rule, always support the commission.

Through FCC sanctions, the government prevents the transmission of simply unsolicited messages, not to mention "subversive or seditional material, or anything that could be clearly identified as harmful to public welfare, safety, or morals." It is clear that the already given American system of control of commercial radio and television provides a noticeable government influence on them.

The influence of the executive power on propaganda through the air is even stronger in countries such as Japan, England, France, where radio and television are of a state or semi-state nature. In Japan, commercial radio companies only broadcast locally. Radio and television services throughout the country are provided by the Japan Broadcasting Corporation, created on the basis of mixed public-private capital. The nature of her propaganda can be judged at least by the fact that the board of

12 people is personally appointed by the prime minister and no changes in the leadership apparatus are possible without the knowledge of the government.

The well-known British broadcasting organization BBC has been officially functioning since 1927 as a public corporation with an independent board. However, through the Postmaster General, it, like the Independent Radio and Television Authority (the government body that regulates commercial broadcasting), reports to Parliament. Parliament determines its budget and the amount of taxes from commercial radio and television stations, and the right of undivided censorship is left to the Minister of Posts. It "has the power to ban the transmission of any material or series of material, or to revoke the license of the BBC or AB at any time."

These powers are considered mainly as reserve ones, say the British authors. What is the purpose of such a reserve, the events on English television related to the aggravation of the situation in Northern Ireland showed. (…)

If such a protective barrier arises even in front of bourgeois journalists, then all the more does the executive branch strive to cut off access to undesirable information for workers in the progressive press. Correspondents of the British communist newspaper The Daily Worker were not allowed to enter the lobby of Westminster for a long time at the beginning of the Second World War, although the bourgeois news agencies always had representatives there. There are many such examples.

The administrative restriction of the right to publish and the right to access information significantly modifies the flow of messages through the press, radio, and television. However, the influence of the executive power on the information bodies is not limited to restrictions.

Government monopoly on certain types of information and manipulation of the information flow

The government of any capitalist country is itself the most important source of news and, moreover, has an exclusive monopoly on certain information. This factor determines another aspect of the influence of the executive power on the press, radio, and television. As a source of information and a monopoly on certain types of information, the government sends an abundant stream of messages to the press and air. For this purpose, his departments have special departments for public relations, created at various levels - from the cabinet of ministers to a secondary ministry. In the United States, up to 7,000 people participate in the work of such departments to one degree or another. According to the Associated Press, the United States government spends about $425 million a year on disseminating information. Millions of sums are spent for these purposes by the governments of other bourgeois countries. Public relations departments form a special government system of "public relations", whose activities are coordinated and directed by special information centers. In France, for example, this is the Ministry of Information, in Italy - the Information Service under the Prime Minister.

Until recently, such a center did not officially exist in the United States. The information activities of the government were coordinated to some extent by the press service of the White House.

It is significant that the Nixon administration was not satisfied with this. Immediately after his election, the new president announced his intention to create an information coordination center, while retaining the position of press secretary at the White House.

The new federal agency was named the Office of the Chief Information Officer of the Executive Branch, or Department of Communications for short. In addition to it, a telecommunications department was later created to coordinate the policies of various federal departments specifically in the field of radio and television. All this testifies to the tendencies towards increased control over government information in the United States.

In the extensive and coordinated propaganda mechanism of the government, the main role is played, of course, by the press services directly under the councils of ministers and the information departments under the most important government departments.

In the US, such "services" primarily include press conferences of the president himself. In addition, reports on the most significant acts of the executive branch are supplied by the White House Press Secretary. In France, the role of the main mouthpiece of the government is assigned to the information secretariat, in Germany - to the press and information department, in Italy - to the information and documentation service under the prime minister, etc. etc.

Officially, all these services and departments are called upon to help information agencies to cover the activities of the executive branch, to acquaint the broad masses with how the country is governed. But it is not in the interests of the ruling class to show the true mechanism of government, to reveal its moving springs.

Over the years, government news services have developed varied and subtle methods of manipulating the news. They always provide news agencies favorable to the government messages and in every possible way hide the negative facts.

Bourgeois ideologists like to emphasize that the US President is not required by the constitution to hold regular press conferences and that he does so on a purely voluntary basis. However, they themselves cannot help admitting in the end that "good will" is dictated not so much by the interests of the nation as by concern for presenting the actions of the executive in the most favorable light. The "technical" means of achieving this goal are very diverse.

The president's opinion is "big news", and the media will certainly pick up and spread it, regardless of how much it corresponds to the true state of affairs. During press conferences, the chief executive of the United States has the opportunity to give reporters the floor on a question of his choice, and first of all he gives it to those in whom he is sure of a benevolent attitude. Moreover, it is not uncommon for presidential press secretaries to "instruct" several journalists to ask certain questions, the answers to which present government policy in a favorable light. The press secretaries of F. Roosevelt, J. Kennedy, L. Johnson admitted to using such a "technique" for preparing press conferences.

The president may give a vague, evasive answer to a reporter, but he is almost unable to ask for clarification: "... studying the documents of press conferences shows that not many reporters are allowed to ask a second question on the same topic ..." Only "about a third (36.6 percent) of questions during the 18 months in office of Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson were repeated questions.

A small circle of friendly-minded journalists is often invited to a press conference by the head of state. Johnson, for example, sought to exclude from his conferences "correspondents covering the Pentagon, the Justice Department, the State Department, and a wide range of other correspondents who

have the special knowledge to ask a difficult question and are not afraid to worsen relations with the White House."

Even under T. Roosevelt, the meetings of the head of state with a narrow circle of friendly-minded journalists gave rise to the so-called trial balloon method. The President confidentially informs the correspondents of his intention to make some kind of political move. Journalists write about this plan of the government as their assumption. If the reaction to the media performance is positive, the idea is put into practice.

At presidential press conferences, the method of silence is also widely used, when the head of state does not answer the question "for reasons of national security, because the question is not timely, or simply because one has not yet formed a point of view." Thus, plans for an expansion of the war in Southeast Asia and an invasion of Cambodia were hidden from the public of the country in 1971: the president did not say a word about them until the world was presented with a fait accompli.

Even bourgeois ideologists notice the tendency of the White House to use methods of "half-truth or outright deceit." When an American U-2 spy plane was shot down over the territory of the Soviet Union in 1960, the White House, counting on the death of the pilot along with the car, said that it was a weather service plane that had lost its course. The irrefutable facts presented by the Soviet side showed what an outright lie the official American version was.

In July 1965, justifying US aggression in the Dominican Republic, President Johnson told a press conference that 1,500 innocent people had been killed by the rebels. As it was accurately established later, the president inflated the number of those killed by 10 times, but the main thing is that the

atrocities were not committed by the rebels, but by the junta supported by the United States.

The publication of the "Vietnamese archives" of the Pentagon and documents revealing the position of the United States in the Indo-Pakistani conflict of 1971 showed that the United States government constantly concealed its true policy from the media and the public. It is no coincidence that during the administration of R. Nixon in the United States there was loud talk about a crisis of confidence in the government.

The methods of manipulating the flow of information are just as intensively used by various departments of information under the councils of ministers and ministries of other capitalist countries. These departments conduct so-called briefings - closed briefings for a narrow circle of high-ranking journalists, giving orientation in covering a particular issue. The purpose of briefings is far from harmless. With their help, the press and information department, in particular the FRG, for example, organizes "broad campaigns directed against the German communists and the international communist movement."

During closed briefings in the press departments of various ministries, journalists are often given confidential information “not for publication”. This is not always done in order to orient reporters. The real purpose of such messages is "to deter reporters from following the news if it comes to them from other sources." And experienced bourgeois journalists instruct beginners: "If you accept information "not for publication", keep it to yourself." They know what they're talking about: breaking the "not for publication" commandment does not bode well for either the reporter or the news outlet he represents. In England, for example, "cases are not unknown when journalists have become persona non grata for the Foreign Office" for publishing a "confidential report."

In order to avoid disruptions in the well-established mechanism for manipulating the news, employees of various government bodies are given strict instructions to be careful in dealing with journalists. So, in 1954, US President D. Eisenhower sent a letter to the Secretary of Defense, which ordered government officials to keep secret documents and oral testimony submitted to various committees and commissions of Congress. This directive to the military department in practice was a guide to all government services, including in their relations with the press, radio, and television. President L. Johnson went even further in 1965 by establishing a procedure according to which the White House was given the right to be the first to report on the acts of all government departments. The ministries had to send a list of their main events to the head of state every week, and he decided what to report and what not to report to the information authorities. Journalists soon discovered that officials in government departments were refusing to speak to them, intimidated by the president's order.

In 1967, the Freedom of Information Act, or Public Law 89-487, was passed to formally relax this rigid order. The point of the new legislation was that disclosure should be "the general rule, not the exception." However, journalists did not feel the implementation of this rule. Federal legislation provides for only three degrees of classification of secret documents: "confidential", "secret" and "top secret". But the executive branch has added many of its own headings: "limited use only," "employee only," "read only," and so on. As a former Air Force official told the House Subcommittee on Government Information, "There are at least 20 million classified documents in the Department of Defense, and only half a percent of them contain genuine secrets."

After the appearance of the “Vietnamese archive” of the Pentagon, the White House issued a “Memorandum” expanding the scope of classification. New measures to tighten control over information and its leakage were taken in connection with the publication by D. Anderson in the Washington Post and other newspapers of documents on the US position in the Indo-Pakistani conflict and on the details of US-Japanese relations. “Recent events have shown,” admitted the American weekly, “that the problem of overclassification of government documents today is much more difficult than at the time when the law (on freedom of information. -Yu.V.) was adopted.

The current law may have been misused by the media, but there is plenty of evidence that government secrecy may have even increased instead of decreased.”

The United States, of course, is no exception among other capitalist countries. “Try ... to look behind the facade and write about the mistakes and hesitations of government advisers, about the mistake of the government apparatus, and you will see that the state has the means to prevent publication,” the prominent English publisher S. King once said. His words were perfectly confirmed when, at the beginning of 1965, the Sunday London "Sunday Times" tried to establish a position as a correspondent in Whitehall, that is, with the apparatus of government agencies. His task was to cover the relationship between ministers and senior officials of ministries, the decision-making process and thus show how "the affairs of the nation are being done." But soon the newspaper was forced to abandon this idea, since the correspondent had nothing to write about: the government cabinet forbade officials and ministers to give him interviews.

Protecting itself from unfavorable information in the press, on radio, and television, the government (and partly the

legislature) of a bourgeois state makes great efforts to influence the mass media in the direction it needs.

In all developed capitalist countries, in one form or another, special bodies exist for this purpose. Their names, structure, terms of reference change from time to time and vary in different countries. However, the very institution of state control over the mass media exists constantly throughout the capitalist world.

In the United States, for example, the policy of the legislative and executive authorities in the field of the press, radio, and television is carried out by various commissions and committees of the Congress, the Presidential Security Council, the Department of Communications, the Federal Communications Commission, and in the field of foreign propaganda, the Department of State.

In the UK, the task of state influence on the media is entrusted to one of the cabinet members in charge of information. He works under the direct supervision of the prime minister, who in turn has a special public relations adviser. All direct propaganda activities of government departments are directed (and largely executed) by the UK Central Office of Information.

In addition, as already mentioned, the British media are influenced by the Armed Forces, Press and Broadcasting Committee of the Ministry of Defense. To manage commercial radio and television in the country, the so-called Independent Radio and Television Administration has been specially created. Foreign policy propaganda is directed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

France has a state secretariat for information. He directs the activities of both the press and government radio and television. French foreign policy propaganda, as in Great

Britain, is controlled and directed by the Foreign Office. In the FRG, state media policy is carried out by a special agency of the Federal Chancellor, as well as press and information departments under the federal government and the Foreign Ministry.

In Italy, for this purpose, an information service has been created under the prime minister. In the field of foreign propaganda, it operates in close contact with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the most direct way, the Italian government influences the country's radio and television, which is a state-monopoly enterprise. But state control of the media is only one side of the story. The executive branch of the bourgeois state spends huge sums on propaganda of its policy through the press, radio, and television. It directly pays for specific programs, broadcasts, newspaper propaganda campaigns and individual publications. The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs annually allocates more than 30 million francs for these purposes. In the political broadcasting of the United States, a large place is given to government programs. Their transfer is financed by the State Department, which entails certain information trends.

Sometimes government subsidies for the press, radio, and television take the form of bribing journalists. The funds spent under Article 300 of the German budget legislation are often referred to by the newspapermen themselves as the "reptilian fund". Funds openly intended to finance journalists are available in the budget of any ministry in Italy.

Many publications are surreptitiously paid for by US federal agencies such as the Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon.

Finally, the government of the bourgeois state has its own information services at its disposal.

In France and Italy they are, in essence, the telegraph agencies Agence France-Presse and ANSA. They receive government subsidies and most of their leadership is appointed by the government. In the US, England and Germany, the main news agencies are private enterprises, but in practice they are usually associated with the state apparatus. In most developed capitalist countries, radio and television are the mouthpieces of the government. In France, they are officially of a state character. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the Japan Broadcasting Corporation act as formally independent, but essentially governmental propaganda tools.

The bourgeois state is directly engaged in publishing activities. In all developed capitalist countries there are periodicals of various legislative bodies, ministries, and departments. Non-periodical government literature is also published. For this purpose, special publishing houses have been created, for example, the US Government Press and Her Majesty's Press in the UK. In addition, in a number of capitalist countries there are special government propaganda services. Thus, in the UK there is a Central Bureau of Information, which is engaged in both domestic and foreign policy propaganda.

In the United States, foreign policy propaganda is carried out by a special autonomous government organization, the United States Information Agency (USIA). It is hardly necessary to prove that all these services are unconditional and consistent conductors of the government line. To a certain extent, they set the tone and direction of bourgeois propaganda as a whole.

Having a monopoly on certain types of information and its own propaganda services, the executive power of the bourgeois state to a large extent imposes on the capitalist press, radio, and television information that is favorable to

itself and, consequently, beneficial to the entire ruling class. This also shows the strong influence of the bourgeois state on the media.

Thus, an analysis of the relationship between the bourgeois state and the mass media shows that there can be no question of any freedom of the latter from the state. Despite all the constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and the press, in the capitalist countries the right to both publication and access to information is constantly restricted and curtailed. This is carried out through all three powers of the bourgeois state - legislative, judicial, executive. But it's not just about limiting the media. The bourgeois state actively controls and directs their propaganda activities. And in this finds its realization a special one - the ideologists of Chess. What is the function of the bourgeois state institution? Both the state restriction and the state management of the mass media are not the protection of the whole society and each individual about the mystical "perversions" of freedom of speech and the press.

They are used for the purposes of the ruling class, for the realization and protection of its interests. As applied to the bourgeois press, radio, and television, their task is to ensure that information beneficial to individual groups of the bourgeoisie, but undesirable to the entire ruling class, does not become the property of the broad masses. In this way, the contradictions within this class, which are reflected in the media, are regulated. But the restrictions imposed by the bourgeois state are directed mainly against the progressive press. Only for the time being does the bourgeois state retain the appearance of soft regulation of the mass media. Its harsh restrictive measures are manifested "openly whenever it seems to the exploiters that the power of capital is wavering."

Even bourgeois scholars see a direct connection "between the growing difficulties of the government and society and the intensification of restrictions on the freedom of the press."

However, it would be wrong to consider the relationship between the bourgeois state and bourgeois journalism one-sidedly, speaking only about the impact of state power on the capitalist mass media. We must not forget that, along with state influence, bourgeois journalism is under the direct influence of monopoly capital. As its agent, like monopoly capital itself, it exerts a reverse influence on bourgeois royalty.

Expressing the will of certain monopoly circles under the guise of public opinion, private capitalist information agencies, through their political campaigns, help or hinder the adoption of this or that law, influence the policy of the executive branch, etc.

A vivid example of such a reverse effect of the private capitalist press, radio, and television on the state apparatus is the outcome of the so-called Watergate case in the United States, when a broad media campaign led in 1974 to a change in the country's president. Obviously, this campaign was directed by influential bourgeois groups interested in such a change.

But no matter how important the feedback effect of the media on the bourgeois state mechanism, the state still plays a decisive role in the relations between the two capitalist institutions under consideration.

The entire history of capitalist development shows that in the event of a lack of "legal grounds" for the prosecution of objectionable information, those in power immediately adopted new legislative acts against the press or even discarded the semblance of legality, as was the case in Nazi Germany.

The possibility of renouncing the freedoms proclaimed by bourgeois constitutions is never ruled out. Back in 1947, the US Press Commission explicitly stated: if the media “are irresponsible (of course, in relation to the ruling class. - Yu. V.), even the first amendment will not protect their freedom from government control. The amendment will correct itself."

However, this "general" warning can essentially only apply to the progressive and communist press. As for the bourgeois mass media, they will never cross certain boundaries, for they are an organic part of the system of state-monopoly capitalism.

Political Parties, Church, And Journalism

Bourgeois journalism and political parties

Two main aspects can be singled out in the problem under consideration:

1) the relationship between the bourgeois media and political parties;

2) the place and role of the bourgeois mass media and political parties in the mechanism of state-monopoly influence on the consciousness and behavior of the masses.

The first question, in turn, can be reduced to two main points: to establish whether a particular party has its own mass media; to clarify whether the parties are capable of subordinating to their ideological and political authority the "independent", "above-party" mass media and whether the situation is such that, on the contrary, the latter dictate their will to the parties (if we mean the directly bourgeois and opportunist-reformist parties).

The party press (including the press of the workers' parties) was largely formed, profiled, and strengthened in the era

when capitalism entered the monopoly stage of development, although it was precisely at that time that the mass tabloid newspapers of the "independent" commercial press began to develop rapidly.

The party media were also a notable phenomenon during the first stage of the general crisis of capitalism.

At its second stage, their share began to noticeably fall, and party publications of a consistently progressive orientation in the conditions of the "cold war" were liquidated partly in a judicial-administrative manner.

This decline (if we talk about bourgeois and opportunist-reformist publications) acquired a rapid character at the third stage of the general crisis of capitalism under the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, which required huge investments in the mass media industry. As a result, the "independent" commercial mass media most decisively pushed back the actual party journalism.

Concentrating in the hands of an ever smaller number of owners, they created a dangerous level of monopolization of opinion - dangerous not only from the point of view of consistently progressive forces, but also from the point of view of many bourgeois and opportunistic reformist politicians, whose possibilities of influencing the masses turned out to be sharply limited. The big concerns of the opinion industry began to put pressure on the policies of the bourgeois and opportunist-reformist parties in a noticeable way, to interfere in their internal organizational issues, to defame their leaders, to turn the voters against them.

Now, not only members of consistently progressive parties who advocate a fundamental change in the dominant state-monopoly system, but also political leaders of a moderate persuasion are subjected to unbridled journalistic persecution

in favor of the most conservative forces. At the same time, the trend of more or less stable support by individual "independent" publications of certain political parties persists.

It is no coincidence that in recent years cases of sharp criticism of the monopolized "independent" press have become more frequent, even from the statesmen of the capitalist countries themselves. The matter is not limited to verbal skirmishes. Entire projects of reforms in the field of mass media are proposed, in particular, to achieve such a provision in the legislative order that the existing commercial mass media publish objective materials in the same proportion about the activities and program settings of all political forces. But this good wish is not guaranteed by effective social and economic measures.

Moreover, it is simply crossed out by the insistent demand of the same reformers to leave the media called for getting rid of political tendentiousness in the hands of their private owners. Communists in the capitalist countries rightly point to this vulnerable point in the constructions of the bourgeois reformers. Nevertheless, they by no means dismiss possible partial reforms in a maximalist way, striving through their own proposals to give them the most progressive character possible. But unlike the opportunist reformists, the communists believe that partial reforms cannot achieve a final satisfactory settlement in the field of the media. These reforms can help the broad masses to get rid of the illusion that freedom of the press can be realized in this way, and lead them to the understanding that only a fundamental change in the relations of large-scale capitalist power and property will ensure real freedom of the press in the interests of the working masses. At the same time, communists believe that even now the experience of the masses and the struggle of progressive forces place certain limits on the influence of the capitalist

mass media. The first and most important condition for a successful struggle against the mass media controlled by the monopolies is, in the opinion of the Communists, the all-out strengthening of the workers' press, and above all the Communist press.

In modern Marxist-Leninist science of society, there is a division of the political parties of the capitalist countries into "staged", or "integrated", and "non-staged", "non-intervened". The “established” (“integrated”) include parties that recognize the basis of the state-monopoly system - “free market economy”, capitalist property in all its forms; to “non-standardized” (“non-integrated”) - parties whose program settings regarding the socio-economic system go beyond the framework of the capitalist system. "Unstaged" parties, unlike "integrated" ones, are rarely allowed to exercise state power, and sometimes even outlawed by the ruling system. There are intermediate options, such as the West German one, which makes it difficult for members of the GKP, even as individuals, to enter the civil service, teaching positions, etc. This classification is essential for understanding the place and role of the capitalist mass media and political parties in the mechanism of state-monopoly influence on the consciousness and behavior of the masses.

The conflict nature of relations between “independent” mass media and political parties noted above is not in all cases antagonistic. Only the relations between the monopolistic mass media and the "uninterrupted" parties are antagonistic. As for the “integrated” parties, their conflicts with the commercial press take the form of, if not entirely correct, but on the whole an orthodox-constructive discussion of like-minded people united by a positive attitude towards the system of state-monopoly capitalism..

In this regard, the trend toward the disappearance of publications with a clear and unshakable party orientation can be viewed as a certain redistribution of the spheres of influence of the bourgeois press and "established" parties in the context of an ever-increasing merging of the power of monopolies and the state. By drawing the attention of the "integrated" parties to the political struggle for government power, monopoly capital, with the help of large mass media associations, takes the ideological indoctrination of the masses under its direct control, bypassing the party press.

Such distribution of roles, on the one hand, aggravates the subordination of the activities of "established" parties to the interests of monopolies, and on the other hand, it expands the possibilities of planting unified ideological and political stereotypes among the general population.

The possibilities of communication between political parties and the masses of the people, and especially the influence of the latter on the politics of the parties, are curtailed. But at the same time, the function of "integrated" parties claiming power is reduced to maintaining the illusion among the masses of the involvement of each voter in the administration of state power through the procedure of parliamentary elections. This illusion is maintained to a large extent by the monopolistic press, with its rich arsenal of means of manipulation and indoctrination, often used under the guise of "neutrality", "tolerance", etc.

It is organically characteristic of the mass media to replace the live communication of people - the so-called interpersonal contacts in the form of conversations, meetings, all kinds of meetings, etc. - with impersonal contacts, when a mass of individuals, each on his own, joins political problems by reading newspapers, watching television programs, etc. But such communication, firstly, dooms the individual to the

passive role of the consumer of the information offered, and secondly, contains the possibility of uncontrolled dissemination of false messages.

This possibility can be neutralized by using many media sources at once. However, for an ordinary person (except for persons of certain specialties), an “average citizen”, daily inquiries about some informational plot from many sources at once is impossible, because he does not have enough free time or money for this. In addition, under the conditions of monopolistic unification of ideological and political stereotypes, even the study of a number of mass media sources may not produce the desired result.

In view of this, interpersonal contacts in various forms are of particular importance. And they, of course, exist in the conditions of modern capitalism. But as bourgeois researchers themselves sometimes point out, only the state-monopoly elite enjoys the benefits of such contacts. Of the political parties that are precisely called upon to cultivate interpersonal contacts, only the “non-integrated” ones use them for the real enlightenment of the masses.

As for the "integrated" parties, their possibilities for organizing interpersonal contacts are, firstly, objectively undermined by the distribution of roles noted above between political parties and the media. Secondly, the subjectively "integrated" parties, standing on the platform of recognizing the "free market economy", are not at all interested in conducting genuine propaganda through interpersonal contacts. But for narrow political purposes, they and their leaders practice such contacts to a certain extent, and first of all in the form of large pre-election meetings of voters, at which, however, the debatable idea of interpersonal contacts completely comes out, giving way to suggestion techniques that are also used by the media .

It can be considered that interpersonal contacts in election campaigns represent a special form of political competition between "integrated" parties and their leaders with the media. There are, for example, cases when certain candidates won elections in capitalist states despite the opposition of the majority of the mass media. But it must be emphasized all the more urgently that there can be no question of any competition between "integrated" parties and the mass media when the question of agitation for the basic ideological dogmas of the state-monopoly regime arises. On the contrary, they then act very harmoniously.

In the most general form, the essence of the platform that unites them can be defined by the word "anti-communism". In professing this reactionary ideology, the leaders of the "integrated" parties are even ready to forget about the claims they make to the monopoly "free" press. And she, in turn, obscuring the real role of "established" parties in the mechanism of state-monopoly coercion, presents party-political "pluralism" as the quintessence of genuine democracy, in which, however, it does not provide a place for parties of a communist orientation.

Of the developed capitalist countries, only a few Scandinavian countries have retained a relatively large proportion of publications that are directly or indirectly the property of parties, and we are talking about the organs of "integrated" parties that actively participate in the formation of state policy and ideology. (…)

Speaking of the party press in the USA, however, one must take into account the specific nature of its economic and organizational foundations. In Western Europe, things often look like this, that party newspapers, being formally the property of individuals (for example, in the FRG), are in fact supported by the party and trade union budget.

The exception is England, where party-oriented newspapers are, as a rule, purely private enterprises through which big business conducts political life in the country. The same seems to be the case with most provincial party-oriented newspapers in the United States. Moreover, there are frequent cases here when a publishing company settled in some city of the middle Velnichina publishes both democratic and pec-publican daily newspapers (one of them comes out in the mornings, the other in the evenings) and Sunday, certified as “independent”, “ supra-partisan".

Of course, the daily newspaper of the US Communist Party, The Daily World, with a circulation of more than 50,000 copies, occupies a very special position in this system.

It can be said that the party-oriented press in the United States is the product of a complex interweaving of the economic and organizational efforts of private publishers and the political lobbying of functionaries of the Democratic and Republican parties. To this, of course, is added the work that the departments of mass media and propaganda under the leadership of the parties carry out to establish contacts with the editorial offices of the largest "non-party" publications. It is this work - and not only in the United States - that is increasingly replacing efforts to expand or even just maintain the networks of established parties' own publications.

This orientation is dictated both by political and ideological considerations, which take into account the psychology of the “man in the street” in the modern capitalist world, and by the economic and financial difficulties faced by publishing undertakings in the context of a technical revolution that requires unprecedentedly high costs for the production of a truly modern and competitive printed products.

Here, the monopolies are in no hurry to help the parties, simply because it is more profitable for them to keep the mass media under their direct control. State regulation, which is discussed in some places, can change little in this state of affairs.

In the structure of the actual party press, in addition to all kinds of press bulletins, which ensure, in particular, contacts with the "independent" commercial press, two types of publications stand out - central organs for functionaries (with a relatively small circulation and often a hundred weekly periodicity) and mass, only “oriented” to individual parties and not being organs of the party in the strict sense, since they can, firstly, also publish “above-party” materials, and secondly, not only organize intra-party discussions, but also express disagreement with individual tactical party leadership guidelines.

Such innovations arose from the desire of the party press to survive in the struggle with the "non-party" press for the reader, but they did not bring decisive success. At the same time, the anti-monopoly forces, using the contradictions in the "established" parties, received some opportunities to weaken the ideological and political influence of the monopolies. From this point of view, the discussions held in the bodies for functionaries are sometimes of interest.

As for radio and television, formally their activities in many countries should be structured in such a way as to provide equal opportunities to all parties "integrated" into the state-monopoly system. But at the same time, anti-monopoly organizations are discriminated against, and besides, the balance of power of "integrated" parties is often upset, and, as a rule, in favor of more conservative forces. A typical example is the activity of the editorial board of the second television program of the FRG, which in recent years has repeatedly

been convicted of a tendentious roll to the right. In countries with highly developed political clericalism (Italy, Germany), along with the media of "Christian" parties, church agitation operates.

One can speak of certain differences in party-political agitation in such countries as the USA and England, on the one hand, and France, Italy, and the FRG, on the other. One can speak of political clashes, sometimes violent, between party and commercial media in individual countries. But from an ideological point of view, there is a united front of commercial and party means of mass influence from the United States through Western Europe to Japan - the front of anti-communism.

Rooted in the socio-economic conditions of the state-monopoly system, the anti-communist ideology is a criterion for the suitability of a particular party to perform state functions and the spiritual basis for the existence of the broadest party of modern reaction - the anti-communist party. In this sense, all bourgeois and opportunist-reformist means of mass influence, whether "independently" commercial or party, represent a one-party propaganda machine of anti-communism, trying to distract the masses from the struggle for social liberation and prevent the consolidation of the world system of socialism, and the "erosion" actually party media in the capitalist countries reflects the craving for the ultimate consolidation of anti-communist forces. But as more and more power is concentrated in the hands of the monopolies, their social base becomes narrower, and thereby the possibilities for the practical realization of the opposite trend—the tendency to unite all antimonopoly forces—are expanding. One of the conditions for its realization is the all-round development of the communist and people's democratic mass media and

propaganda, which goes hand in hand with direct organizational work among the masses.

The vanguard of the anti-monopoly forces is the advanced sections of the working class, the communists do not hide behind arguments about the "common good", but fight for it, declaring that the interests of the working people are incompatible with the interests of those in power, calling all other oppressed sections of the population under the banner of struggle, helping to raise their consciousness and determination to speak out against the very foundations of state-monopoly capitalism.

Church and bourgeois journalism

The information and propaganda system of a developed capitalist society is a complex and diverse phenomenon. In one way or another, all the ideological and socio-political organizations of bourgeois society are included in it. A significant place among them is occupied by the church, which, along with all its traditional means of mass ideological influence, now successfully uses the press, radio, television, and cinema. Diverse are not only the means of propaganda that the church owns and which are under its direct or indirect influence, but also the forms and methods of propaganda carried out with their help. The voice of the Vatican radio, Catholic and Protestant newspapers and weeklies, newspaper and magazine production of the Zionist organizations have firmly entered the bourgeois propaganda system.

The state of propaganda activity of Catholicism or Protestantism, Judaism or Buddhism is largely determined by the position of the church in each individual country and religion as a whole in the system of state-monopoly capitalism. As a form of social consciousness, religion is still an active link in the superstructure of bourgeois society.

Although relatively independent, it is nevertheless subject to the fundamental laws of development of capitalist society. Therefore, at this stage, being a reflection of the general crisis of capitalism, religion will experience a deep crisis. (…)

Religion and the church influence the political and ideological life of society in various ways. The first as a form of social consciousness itself has an impact on political views. The second has its own socio-political doctrine, a wide network of church and secular organizations, in addition, unlike other institutions of bourgeois society, it has an army of priests who can directly influence the broad masses. However, in modern conditions, the church seeks to transfer its political activity to the sphere of secular organizations, since open participation in politics causes discontent both in the anti-clerical circles of bourgeois society and among realistically thinking church circles.

"... The features of modern capitalism are largely due to the fact that it adapts to the new situation in the world." The same can be said about the church, its strategy, and tactics. Adapting to today's world, it modernizes its doctrine, tries to sensitively capture the pulse of the time, and wages a more flexible and disguised struggle against its ideological opponents.

The Church exerts the influence it needs on the politics and ideology of capitalist society, relying in its activities on its own and secular organizations that are under its direct influence (for example, the orders of Catholic action) or indirectly (Christian-democratic parties). Such organizations that implement the policy and ideology of the church exist in the field of mass media and propaganda. Since the actions of the church in this area go beyond religious aspirations and are ultimately aimed at shaping the public opinion it needs, at

interfering in the ideological and political life of society, they are clearly clerical in nature.

Church ideologists, speaking of their press, radio, and television, emphasize only their belonging to religion and call them "religious radio", "religious television" or "Catholic press". However, to speak, for example, of a "religious press" is just as unjust as to assert the existence of a press "above the party" or "above class". Even the bulletins of monasteries or churches cannot be attributed to a purely religious press, since even in published sermons, the church hierarchy quite actively expresses its attitude to the world, however, on material not of a secular, but of a religious nature. Therefore, the definition of journalism, one way or another directed by the church, as clerical-Catholic, clerical-Protestant, etc., should be considered more complete. Since clericalism in any of its manifestations acts as an interweaving of the political and religious aspirations of the church and the ruling classes of capitalist society, the class essence of clerical journalism should also be defined as bourgeois.

Now, when the commonality of the class interests of the bourgeoisie and the church is revealed in new forms, the words of V. I. Lenin about the role of “concrete facts and comparisons that show the connection between the class interests and class organizations of the modern bourgeoisie with the organizations of religious institutions and religious propaganda” acquire special significance. Since, under the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism, the bourgeoisie strives to create "the most powerful propaganda machine put at the service of bourgeois ideology," it was logical to include "religious propaganda organizations" in it.

It is the commonality of the class interests of the modern bourgeoisie and the church that can explain the fact that the system of propaganda and information of the latter has

become an organic part of the entire propaganda machine of the capitalist world. It exerts a certain influence on the ideological and political life of society "with the aim of protecting the positions of religion and the church by secular means" and thereby strengthening the foundations of the capitalist system.

One of the main theses of the modern church is the assertion that it acts as a "third force", allegedly not connected with any social system and the only one capable of bringing salvation to mankind. The inconsistency of this assertion is obvious.

Organically included in the system of capitalist society, the church is subject to the influence of all its factors, so clerical journalism, like bourgeois journalism in general, is also subject to their influence. These factors are: development under conditions of state-monopoly capitalism; the impact of the scientific and technological revolution; the existence of a struggle between two world systems.

In addition, unlike secular journalism, clerical journalism is subject to specific influence from the church itself. The influence of the church is most fully and vividly revealed by the example of clerical-Catholic journalism, which occupies a leading place among clerical journalism in the countries of state-monopoly capitalism. This fact is explained by the fact that the state of the propaganda system of a particular church is determined by the degree of its clerical influence on the political and ideological life of society, its activity in this area. At present, it is Catholicism that represents "the most influential and strongest religious trend in bourgeois clericalism."

The presence of a single religious and political center - the Vatican, a clear hierarchical structure, a well-functioning mechanism of numerous church and secular organizations

allow the Catholic Church not only to exert a religious influence on its flock of many thousands, which makes up almost half of all Christians, but also to conduct active political activity in various ways.

The Protestant and Jewish churches are also active in clerical activities, including in the field of journalism, however, for example, due to the disunity of the Protestant Churches, their greater religious rather than political influence, they do not have a clear and coordinated system of propaganda and information, like Catholicism. Included in the system of state-monopoly capitalism, the church, like, for example, the Catholic, is itself in some way a similar system, which, as it were, combines state and monopoly. On the one hand, the church is the only social institution along with the state that has the ability to legislate and "has special spiritual, legal, moral and other levers of power inherent in it."

On the other hand, she is one of the largest land and financial magnates in modern bourgeois society. Its material wealth, entering the general system of monopoly capital, is constantly multiplying. And although the hierarchy prefers to hush up exact data on the financial power of churches (for example, all Vatican officials related to financial securities are required to take a vow of silence), nevertheless, judging by the active participation of churches in financial and industrial business, in terms of the amount of income received by them from their investments, by the material power of their individual organizations, it is calculated in impressive figures.

Therefore, the church, in its relations with its system of propaganda and information, uses both ideological and economic levers of pressure on it so that it functions in the direction given to it.

Since conflicts sometimes arise between the hierarchy and some publications, caused, according to one of the largest theoreticians and practitioners of the clerical press in France, J. Hourdain, "some misunderstanding between Rome and Catholic journalists, which creates specific difficulties for the modern church", the church authorities have to eliminate them.

The hierarchy also “corrects” journalists who, in its opinion, are mistaken in certain issues… (…)

Despite theoretical assertions about freedom of information, about raising the critical level of materials published in the clerical press, the church hierarchy at the same time constantly warns journalists against their implementation in practice. (…)

The Church is not limited, however, to "teaching" and "educating" journalists. Along with administrative measures, it also uses leverage of economic pressure. Most clerical publications, radio and television enjoy significant financial support from her. In addition, they are provided with advertising by the clerically-minded bourgeoisie close to the church. In those cases when a particular publication causes dissatisfaction with its line, it is simply deprived of this support and forced to cease to exist. (…)

Using ideological and economic pressure on the clerical system of propaganda and information, applying administrative measures, the church still cannot bring it to complete uniformity.

The presence of various directions in the church itself - from pro-repressive to extremely integrist, which are a reflection of the internal struggle in it, determines the existence of its diverse propaganda system.

Each of these areas has its own history, brought to life by different reasons and is characterized by special features. For example, in Catholicism, reformists who are trying to bring the church out of a crisis state using new means and methods of work want to limit the activities of the integrists, who strive "for the complete clericalization of the entire life of society and the individual, for the absolute supremacy of the church over the state" and proclaiming " the idea of absolute fidelity to the medieval ecclesiastical tradition.

And the most radical wing - the progressives, sometimes supported by the reformists, are pursuing an even more resolute policy towards church integrationism. Therefore, the internal struggle of various trends existing in the church is expressed in relations not only within the Roman curia or episcopates, but also between various clerical publications. Despite this, the Catholic Church, for example, managed to create a fairly well-coordinated system of clerical-Catholic propaganda and information.

Its structure corresponds to the structure of the Catholic Church itself and is built on the same principle: the propaganda system of the Vatican and the national systems of various countries. The social communication commission of the holy see in the Vatican directs the activities of similar commissions under the episcopates of various countries, and they in turn control the diocesan commissions. In addition, by analogy with other organizations of the secular apostolate, national Catholic organizations of journalists are united in the International Catholic Press Union (UCIP), the International Catholic Broadcasting and Television Association (UNDA) and the International Catholic Film Service (OCIC). They organically merge into the international system of Catholic Action, which is also directly directed by the Vatican.

The world system of clerical-Catholic propaganda and information is being formed out of the national systems and the propaganda machine of the Vatican, whose press and radio carry out the functions of the governmental organs of a bourgeois state. Their opinion reflects the point of view of the hierarchy, which the national episcopates have to reckon with. It should be noted. -that the press continues to play the leading role in clerical propaganda, although, for example, Vatican radio has also gained considerable influence. (…)

Features of the present stage of development of capitalism, manifested in the coalescence of the bourgeois state and monopoly capital, affect the relations between the church and the bourgeois state, between the church and monopoly capital. On the one hand, the church supports the bourgeois state and stands guard over its interests, and on the other hand, it is closely connected with monopoly capital "through big capitalists or their proxies who hold leading positions in the leadership of religious organizations." As a result of this, for example, "the machine of the Catholic Church in the United States was integrated into the state-monopoly complex of this country ...".

The attitude of the church towards state-monopoly capitalism and the main trends in its development are reflected in the encyclical of John XXIII "Mater et Magistra". The socio-political doctrine of Catholicism allows state intervention in the sphere of the economy, recognizes its necessity, thus defending the main direction in the development of capitalism. However, this intervention, according to the doctrine, can be carried out only to the extent that it does not pose a threat to private property. (…)

Despite the separation of church and state in most countries (USA, Italy, France, Germany, Japan), it is limited. The existing bourgeois form of relations between church and state

predetermines the significant privileges enjoyed by the church on the part of the capitalist states. It receives deductions from the state budget and significant subsidies, its position in the field of education is still strong, it is exempted in some countries from paying taxes on income from its enterprises, and is actively building temples (USA, Germany).

In the field of mass media and propaganda, all forms of cooperation between the church and the bourgeois state are manifested in the most direct way. In the USA, for example, newspaper enterprises, radio and television studios owned by the church and its organizations are exempt from paying taxes. In Germany, the church annually receives significant amounts from the state budget and from church tax, due to which its financial power is constantly increasing.

Such a favorable attitude of states towards the church is also explained by the fact that in a number of countries clerical parties are either ruling or being in opposition, continue to play a significant role in political life. Some of the clerical parties publish their own newspapers and bulletins. For example, the Italian CDA has its own organ, the Popalo newspaper, the Japanese Komeito party of the Nichiren Buddhist sect publishes the Kamei Shimbun newspaper, and the West German CDU publishes the Deutschland-Union-Dinst press bulletin. Those parties that do not have their own publications or issue only bulletins support one or another body and through them influence public opinion. Thus, the line of the CDU is reflected mainly by the newspaper Reinische Post, while the CSU, publishing an insignificant organ, the Bayern Curier, supports the daily newspaper Münchner Merkur. However, the publications of clerical parties are more related to the secular press than to the church, and the influence of the church affects them indirectly.

The interweaving of the interests of the modern bourgeois state and the church is largely explained by the commonality not only of an ideological but also of an economic nature. The participation of church capital in almost all branches of financial and economic business makes it an equal partner of the world's largest monopolies. Therefore, the development of the propaganda and information means of the church as part of its entrepreneurial activity is subject to the basic laws of development of the entire system of bourgeois propaganda.

Clerical publications are forced to compete in the newspaper-and-magazine markets of the capitalist world. They advocate that they be given equal opportunities with secular newspapers and magazines in the supply of advertising. (…)

At the present stage, the features of the development of capitalist society are largely determined by the rapid growth of the scientific and technological revolution. This is reflected not only in its economy, but also in ideology. The church is also subject to the influence of the scientific and technological revolution. The development of scientific and technical thought largely contributes to the decline of religiosity. The crisis of faith that the church is now experiencing forces it to find new ways in the theoretical equipment of its ideology, designed to become "an intermediary in the relationship between a religious person and his social environment, between the individual and the norms of social life."

The most indicative in this regard are the efforts of the Catholic Church, which has always shown quite flexible tactics, the ability to adapt to the needs of the times. Taking into account the peculiarities of the development of the scientific and technological revolution in a capitalist society - on the one hand, its innumerable possibilities, and on the other hand, the use of the achievements of science and technology by only a small part of people with monopoly

rights of power for their own, often inhumane goals, the church seeks to prove that only she, allegedly standing above the systems, is able to resolve this contradiction. Catholic theorists preach the universality of the Catholic Church and put forward slogans about the unity of all mankind under their auspices, but on the basis of capitalist society. They work out doctrines that supposedly oppose the bourgeois conceptions of the "alienation" of man, the "disinfection" of modern society, etc.

Such far-reaching intentions of Catholic ideologists made it necessary to modernize the basis of religious ideology - theology and the desire to theologize science, as well as the most important social phenomena. These aspirations lie in the interests of both the church itself and the ruling classes of modern bourgeois society, who see in it support and support for strengthening their economic, ideological, and political pressure on the masses.

Basically, these aspirations remain the same as at the beginning of the century. About the Russian bourgeoisie in those years, V. I. Lenin wrote that they wanted to have at their disposal "a more cultured, updated, more dexterous religion ...". It is in terms of the renewal of religion, its adaptation to the modern world, that the emergence of such theological teachings as the “theology of science”, “theology of labor”, “theology of technology”, etc. can be considered. In line with this direction is the attitude of the Catholic Church to the means of social communication, with the increased role of which in modern society, it cannot but be considered.

In the concept of "means of social communication", Catholic theorists include not only the press, radio, and television, which they consider the main ones, but also cinema, theater, conferences, etc.

The scientific and technological revolution has a direct impact both on the technical improvement of the means of social communication, and on the ways and methods of their influence on people whose psychology is undergoing certain changes.

Therefore, the modern Catholic concept of the means of social communication is based on a combination of theological and philosophical judgments of an objective-idealistic persuasion, as well as theoretical developments in the field of sociology, psychology, and journalism, considered from these positions. In addition, for it, as for the entire doctrine of Catholicism, it is characteristic that it "reduces all social problems to a set of religious and moral ideas, putting forward the abstract principle of social justice."

The Catholic concept of journalism covers a fairly wide range of theoretical problems, and also gives journalists guidance in their practical activities. As part of this concept, one can consider the theory of the Catholic mass media and propaganda proper, highlighting their purpose and specific tasks. The Catholic concept of printing is being developed by theorists of various countries: Italy, Spain, France, Germany, the USA, Belgium, etc. However, the starting point for such “research” is always the official position of the Vatican on this issue.

(...)

The Communio et Progressio was the first ecclesiastical document to consider the media and propaganda both in a purely theological aspect and in terms of their practical application. It is based on the main postulates of the church in the era of the scientific and technological revolution and the "era of social communication" and characterizes the activities of the Catholic Church in promoting its ideology, which is the

main area of its struggle for believers, for maintaining and increasing its influence on the life of modern bourgeois society.

The instruction is also indicative from the point of view of outside society. Other and non-historical approach of the Catholic Church to the solution of the main problems of modern life, considered in the religious and moral terms. Instead of changing the social conditions that give rise to the evils of the bourgeois press, radio, television and cinema, this approach presupposes the moral improvement of the people involved in their field of application, on the basis of Christian principles that claim to be universal.

Starting from the unsubstantiated thesis about the divine origin of social communication and its means, Catholic ideologists clearly demonstrate their metaphysical approach to the process of social development. However, the theoretical "divinity" of origin and the "holiness" of goals (the unification of mankind, contributing to its progress) do not prevent the mass media and propaganda of the Catholic Church from carrying out reactionary activities in practice, preaching social peace to the masses, distorting the real state of affairs in their attacks on countries socialism. This is what reveals their true social belonging and social orientation.

The same approach is typical for the interpretation of other scientific problems by the church. The rapid development of science and technology led to the appearance of many works in which the modern view of the church on science was expressed. At the same time, the pages of clerical newspapers and magazines are increasingly given space for articles in which church propaganda seeks to assure readers that there is no conflict between science and religion, that religion allegedly even contributes to scientific and technological progress and predetermines its development.

The influence of the scientific and technological revolution affects not only the theoretical research of clerical propaganda, but also its practical activities. Most of the clerical publications are printed at a high printing level. Printing houses and editorial offices of newspapers and magazines are equipped with the latest equipment, including electronic equipment. The Church has mastered all modern mass media and propaganda.

In Japan, for example, the National Catholic Committee, in conjunction with the Sony Corporation, produced color videotapes of Bible stories. Thus, while experiencing the impact of the scientific and technological revolution, which in no small measure contributes to the crisis of faith, the church at the same time tries to adapt to it and extract the maximum benefit for itself.

The inconsistency of the theses of the church about its supra-class character is quite obvious. Now, in the conditions of the existence of two world systems, the irreconcilable ideological struggle between them, the church, as one of the ideological foundations of state-monopoly capitalism, especially clearly reveals its class character in relation to communism, to the countries of the socialist community.

Propaganda of anti-communism is carried out by all means and methods. Disinformation about the position of religion in the socialist countries, stereotypes about the "church of silence", about the "persecuted church" in articles, radio and television programs accusing the communists of all mortal sins, have become a characteristic feature of clerical propaganda.

There are also frequent frank statements in the pages of the clerical press that the church cannot accept the communist ideology, and therefore is called upon to wage a resolute

struggle against it. Indicative in this regard is an interview with Monsignor Matarin, published in the French magazine Vie Catholique, in which he declared that the doctrine of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat is unacceptable for the church. Offering instead the thesis of the universal brotherly love of people, Matarren once again confirmed the class essence of the Catholic doctrine, its obvious anti-communist orientation.

All publications, radio, and television broadcasts of numerous Zionist organizations in the USA and a number of European countries are saturated with ardent anti-communism. Zionism as an ideology considers Judaism one of its strongholds. Thus, the slogan of modern Zionism about the return of the Jews to Palestine to a large extent draws its origins from Judaism and is designed to awaken the nationalistic and religious feelings of the Jews. The Center of the World Zionist Organization in the USA and its branches in European countries publish a huge number of propaganda publications, a significant part of which is intended for Jews living in the countries of the socialist community. The Zionists use the most unseemly means of disseminating this literature, not to mention the methods and techniques of their propaganda.

The example of Zionism clearly shows the reactionary essence of Israeli clericalism, its close connection with the interests of the monopoly circles of the capitalist countries, and the great importance that the reactionary forces, ideologically connected with religion, attach to their propaganda system.

The class essence of clerical journalism is revealed not only in its relation to communism, but also in the treatment of many other problems. In general, it is characterized by the breadth of the range of issues of published materials: domestic and foreign policy, economics and morality, art and even sports.

According to J. Hourdain, "it is becoming the same as the rest" of the journalism of the bourgeois world, it strives to ensure that the church's judgment is expressed on almost all topical issues.

It appeals to various age categories and social strata of society, especially seeking to spread her influence among the youth. Therefore, the children's and youth clerical press occupies one of the most significant places in the system of clerical propaganda. An equally significant place is occupied by another detachment of clerical journalism, intended for the countries of the "third world": - Latin America, Asia, and Africa. The policy of the Catholic Church towards these countries has evolved over the years and has now taken on "the guise of some kind of clerical neo-colonialism."

It is characterized by complexity and inconsistency. On the one hand, the church cannot go against the aspirations of monopoly capital, and on the other hand, trying to gain a foothold in these countries, find its support in them, it must support them to some extent, which sometimes leads to anti-racist and anti-colonial speeches by the church hierarchy on some issues. In such cases, the church is more concerned about its own authority than about the authority of its allies - the big bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries. In "conquest:. young states, it pays considerable attention to the media and propaganda.

The activities of the Catholic Church in this regard go in several directions: firstly, the formation and development of clerical journalism in developing countries and, accordingly, professional training for it, which is carried out by Catholic universities and schools of journalism in almost all countries of Western Europe and America; secondly , publication of periodicals and preparation of radio programs intended for the population of young states; thirdly, the expansion of the

network of publications, an increase in the number of radio and television programs in the capitalist countries, designed to cover issues related to the national liberation movement in developing countries, their economy and culture in order to form public opinion in line with the social policy of the church. (…)

Speaking in support of the ruling forces, fighting communism, influencing the formation of public opinion, clerical journalism thus becomes an important link in the entire bourgeois system of propaganda and information, with which it is closely connected. The relationship of the church and clerical journalism with secular journalism is manifested in various forms. Most of the largest bourgeois publications - The New York Times, The Times, Monde, Figaro, Parimatch, Corriere della Sera, and others - have regular headings of religious information on their pages. A specially conducted study of the Parimatch magazine showed, for example, that during the year, an average of 11% of its area is devoted to materials with a church theme. Such a respectable newspaper as the Monde, along with constant information about the life of the church, publishes problematic articles related to religion. (…)

The church hierarchy closely follows bourgeois newspapers and magazines, radio and television broadcasts, and film production. She makes extensive use of her ability to advise believers on their content. In those cases when the church hierarchy does not agree with one or another approach to the issue being covered, it comes out with an open condemnation. (…)

The thesis of church ideologists that clerical journalism is above class reveals its complete inconsistency. Closely associated with state-monopoly capitalism, it is affected by all

its factors, and besides this, the specific pressure of the church itself as a religious and socio-political institution.

Defending the interests of state-monopoly capital, the church, with the help of its propaganda system, plays the role of an ideological ally of the bourgeoisie in the struggle to strengthen the foundations of the capitalist system, against progressive ideology.

For this, at present, it has sufficient opportunities: as before, hundreds of thousands of preachers from church ambos directly influence the broad masses of believers; in all countries of state-monopoly capitalism, newspapers, magazines, bulletins and other periodicals are published in huge circulation; the voice of the Vatican and other religious radio stations is constantly heard on the air; more and more often on TV screens there are programs related to the propaganda of religion and the church. However, despite such vigorous activity, it is increasingly difficult for the church and its mass media and propaganda to resist the offensive movement of the progressive ideology.

Conclusion

The concentration and monopolization of the bourgeois press, radio broadcasting and television, and the strengthening of control over them by finance capital and industrial monopolies, by the bourgeois state, are turning the mass media into the most important factor in the domination of the monopolies over the masses of the people and hindering the struggle of progressive forces against the outmoded capitalist system. The more tangible and significant is the heroic activity in the countries of capital of the communist press, which is published at the expense of the workers in spite of the persecution of the authorities and the economic pressure of capital and information and propaganda monopolies.

The growing stricter control over the bourgeois press leads to the strengthening of the role of extreme right and right-wing publications within it. (…)

The monopolization and concentration of the press, radio, and television in the capitalist countries, and the strengthening of control over them by the monopolies and bourgeois governments, arouse concern among the democratic public and force it to actively include in its demands the fight against the dominance of information and propaganda monopolies. (…)

The system of control of the monopolies and the bourgeois state over the mass media is such that it practically unifies their activity, and the disputes and discussions between the various organs of the bourgeois press reflect only intra-class contradictions in the camp of big capital.

Anyone who tries to encroach on the common interests of the monopolies is ostracized and deprived of the right to participate in the information and propaganda business. Under such conditions, the attacks of the monopolies, corporations, and the bourgeois state are directed against the press, above all, by the communist and workers' parties.

VI Lenin, in the Theses to the Second Congress of the Communist International, emphasized that the state of the workers' press in the most advanced capitalist countries especially clearly demonstrates the falsity of the slogan of freedom and equality under bourgeois democracy. In these countries, he pointed out, "the whole force of the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie and all the tricks of its financial kings are set in motion to deprive the workers of their press: both judicial persecution, and arrests (or murder through hired killers) of editors, and the prohibition of mail forwarding, and the seizure of paper, etc., etc. Moreover, the

information material necessary for a daily newspaper is in the hands of the bourgeois telegraph agencies, and the announcements, without which a big newspaper cannot pay off, are at the "free" disposal of the capitalists.

As a result, the bourgeoisie defrauds the revolutionary proletariat of its press by means of deceit and pressure from capital and the bourgeois state.

And today, six decades after these words were written by V. I. Lenin, the bourgeois governments are persecuting the communist press. Monopolies and corporations deprive it of advertising, set high prices for newsprint, and refuse to distribute communist newspapers through the existing network of kiosks.

As before, the bourgeois media agencies are monopolists in the collection and dissemination of information material in the capitalist countries. (…)

In order to publish their newspapers, the communist parties are forced to constantly raise funds for the communist press fund. That is why the holidays of communist newspapers have become so widespread lately. For their publication deputies of parliaments - communists give a significant part of their salaries. In addition, journalists working in communist newspapers are also limited to the minimum wage.

The rank-and-file members of the party themselves participate in the sale of newspapers, not only in order to overcome the boycott organized by the bourgeois companies involved in this, but also in order to save in this way the costs of distributing newspapers through these organizations, which charge exorbitant fees from the Communists, even if agree to sell their newspapers at newsstands.

In modern conditions, as we see, the problem of the struggle of the communist press against bourgeois propaganda is becoming more complicated in a significant way. In the 1920s and 1930s, communist newspapers developed a reliable system of journalistic and propaganda actions against the bourgeois press, including, first of all, a thorough study of the methods of bourgeois propaganda and opposing them with journalistic material no less extensive in scope, which combined efficiency and accuracy with depth. and popularity of the presentation.

The communist press in Germany in the early 1930s and in France in the 1920s and 1930s became mass-produced, having won over a significant number of working-class readers from the bourgeois press in a sharp competitive battle, offering them a wide range of materials in all spheres of public life. - political, economic, and cultural life, which satisfied the most diverse interests of not only the worker, but also his family.

In modern conditions, television and radio are the most important carriers of bourgeois propaganda. But the communist parties cannot oppose them with their own radio and television service because of the monopolization and concentration of radio broadcasting and television in the hands of the magnates of capital and the bourgeois state, and the high cost of their equipment.

The scientific and technological revolution has significantly affected the mass media. They are developing at an accelerated pace.

Even more clearly the ratio of the press, radio, and television in the ideological indoctrination of the population can be seen from Table 2 on the number of daily newspapers, radios, and televisions per thousand people. In four countries - the USA, Canada, Italy, and Spain - the number of televisions exceeds

the total number of daily newspapers, and, accordingly, television in these countries is becoming the most massive channel of propaganda influence. In France and the FRG, the number of television sets and the circulation of daily newspapers have almost equaled, while in other countries the readership market is rapidly being saturated with television sets. (…)

Now new technical means have appeared that are used in mass propaganda - video cassettes. Extensive experiments are being carried out with the aim of organizing television broadcasting via communication satellites. In addition, the technology of newspaper production is changing significantly, in which electronic computers and phototypesetting techniques are being introduced, which make it possible to speed up the process of publishing a newspaper and abandon such complex stages of its publication as linotype typesetting and taller layout. Electronic computers are also being introduced into the practice of news agencies. All this speeds up the dissemination of bourgeois information, widens the range of its influence and complicates the struggle against it by the press of the communist and workers' parties. (…)

Thus, the communist press organizes progressive public opinion in their countries to fight against the propaganda actions of bourgeois television.

In its single combat with bourgeois propaganda, it is forced to take into account the activities of television and radio broadcasting constantly and everywhere, not only in direct polemics, but also in covering various topical problems of political life, since television broadcasting practically penetrates into every family and becomes an important element of the propaganda system.

As a result of enormous efforts, the communist and workers' parties sometimes manage to gain access to the television screen. Such an opportunity, for example, had the leaders of the Communist parties of France and some other countries. And then the communist press, in order to draw the attention of its readers to these speeches, warns about them in advance and then publishes their texts on its pages or publishes them in separate pamphlets, which is an essential factor in strengthening the impact of the speeches.

In connection with the development of television, which is becoming an important source of information and disinformation, timely and quick reaction to events is becoming increasingly important. Communist newspapers are therefore actively developing a tradition of in-depth commentary on them. They also pay great attention to problematic articles, assessments of events in political, economic, and cultural life.

In the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, the masses of readers, viewers, listeners are bombarded by such a huge flow of information through television, radio broadcasting channels, newspapers and magazines that it makes it difficult to identify the main and most important trends in social development: the information boom turns into information pollution of the consciousness of the masses of the population of capitalist countries , becomes a new and very important point of disinformation.

In order to resist this, it is necessary to harmoniously carry out the most important functions of a communist newspaper, which V. I. Lenin called not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, but also a collective organizer.

The propaganda function of communist newspapers is revealed in their information policy, in their assessment and

explanation of the most important events in political and socio-economic life, as well as in the social, domestic, and cultural spheres. The successful implementation of the agitational function ensures the correct orientation of the masses, their understanding of the current tasks of the struggle for their interests.

In modern conditions, it is especially important to simultaneously carry out the propaganda function, which ensures that readers understand the laws of social development and helps to link the tasks of today with the solution of the most important strategic tasks of the revolutionary movement.

If bourgeois journalism tries to prevent seeing the main patterns of the historical process, acting, in particular, with the help of an excessive flow of information on the principle that the forest cannot be seen behind the trees, and also carefully selecting from the mountains of information slag insignificant messages that may interest the layman, then communist The press on truthful information explains to its readers the laws and regularities of social development, educates the scientific consciousness, ensures the connection between the practice of the workers' movement and the revolutionary theory of scientific communism.

That is why the role of theoretical, generalizing, program articles and materials on questions of the world revolutionary process, on problems of the theory of scientific communism, is growing in the daily communist and progressive press. Such publications in communist newspapers contribute to the more successful fulfillment of their not only propagandistic, but also agitational and organizational functions.

Simultaneously with the growing importance of daily newspapers, the role of weekly and monthly publications, as

well as mass political books, is increasing, which focus attention on the most important problems of the day and have the opportunity to more fully and comprehensively analyze and comment on events, give them a class, proletarian assessment. (…)

The organizational function of communist journalism is revealed not only in direct directives, appeals, slogans, advice, proposed plans of action, but also in explaining current political tasks and revealing the prospects of the revolutionary process, orienting readers to active participation in the struggle against the world of capital. That is why a political book, which reveals in detail the program of action of the party, and which lives longer than a newspaper, a weekly, or even a monthly, is a particularly effective part of the organizational activity of communist journalism.

Television contributes to a certain change in the nature of bourgeois propaganda, in which an appeal to the emotions and feelings of the audience occupies more and more space, the role of an artificially created image ("image"), a stereotype, stereotypical attitudes, and tastes imposed on the masses increases.

The communist press, destroying false stereotypes, is forced to resort more to visual methods of journalistic influence, in particular photography, drawing, caricature. It is no coincidence that in recent years artists and graphic artists have played an active role in it. It is enough to mention the names of Effel, Bandstropa, Guttuso. Their activities are an important part of strengthening the effectiveness of the communist press.

The scientific and technological revolution is in itself an important front in the ideological struggle. Bourgeois propaganda tries to interpret its meaning in a false light,

promoting the ideas of technocracy, convergence and de-ideologization.

The struggle against them, against the bourgeois and revisionist interpretation of the scientific and technological revolution, occupies a significant place in the press of the communist parties, helping to attract to the camp of the working class the new revolutionary strata of bourgeois society - the scientific and technical intelligentsia, technicians and the so-called "white-collar workers". (…)

Experiences in the use of space communications satellites for television broadcasts portend the possibility of expansion and the creation of new international propaganda corporations and cartels. Direct broadcasting to television receivers from space can inevitably lead to increased coordination of bourgeois propaganda and the dominance in it, above all, of the influence of American propaganda. This very sharply raises the question of **the need for joint action** by communist and progressive newspapers, magazines, and other publications in the struggle against national and international information and propaganda monopolies.

Disinformation and deception techniques

Introduction

Y. N. Zasursky

The disinformation technique used by the bourgeois press, radio and television is a direct manifestation of their class essence.

The books "Journalism in Bourgeois Society" and "In the Service of Monopolies" examined the place of bourgeois journalism in modern capitalist society and the system of control and management of it by the monopolies, the main features of its activity as an information and propaganda system of capital countries with a corresponding division of labor between various mass media and propaganda, and at the same time within each of them, counting on a different audience.

This book analyzes the methods of activity of bourgeois journalism, the system of techniques with which it performs its functions of manipulating public opinion and consciousness in bourgeois society, processing the masses in the interests of big capital.

Bourgeois journalism and its theorists reject the principles of objectivity in the press, radio, and television. They oppose them with the principles of relativism and refusal to search for truth, the comprehension of which, in their opinion, is impossible. Such a position is explained by the social functions of bourgeois journalism, designed to protect the dying world.

For her, revealing the truth of life, revealing the laws of social progress are contraindicated, because this is contrary to the interests of the class she represents.

The system of bourgeois propaganda is based on ignoring knowledge of the laws of social development.

Its methods of influencing people are different due to the specifics of the media and also depend on who this or that material is addressed to. For managers, for those who directly serve them, such methods of influence and indoctrination are used that make it possible to put forward and consolidate certain theses of bourgeois propaganda in accordance with the worldview and interests of the ruling class.

As for the controlled, mass audience, here the manipulative role of bourgeois journalism is most fully revealed, its technique of disinformation, juggling the real facts of reality, and based on the latest research in social psychology and semantics, the system of emotional influence on the audience.

Bourgeois journalism assigns the leading role in propaganda to various techniques and methods of suggestion in order to develop certain attitudes in the audience. When addressing a mass audience, in most cases she refuses to use detailed argumentation, replacing it with a technique of suggestion based on principles that practically deprive the audience of the opportunity to reason.

The bourgeois press, radio, and television offer their audience ready-made solutions and do everything to ensure that they are often embedded in their consciousness even against the will of people. In essence, bourgeois journalism uses methods of ideological violence against readers, viewers, and listeners.

One of the main places among the methods of bourgeois propaganda is occupied by the method of stereotyping. A stereotype is something between an image and a representation - every time it appears in the mind when a person is not able to independently evaluate this or that phenomenon, event, fact.

Of course, the method of stereotyping used by bourgeois propaganda does not assume that the audience thinks only in stereotypes. The technique of suggestion also plays a significant role in order to introduce certain attitudes and the attitude necessary for bourgeois propaganda towards many important and complex phenomena.

Bourgeois journalism seeks to avoid thinking about certain phenomena and therefore replaces them with more straightforward and emotionally saturated settings that correspond to the interests of the ruling class.

At present, with the development of audiovisual, sound-visual propaganda, primarily through television, in the system of suggestion, the introduction of 11 stereotypes, a picture, image, image directed from the screen play a crucial role in shaping ideas, the scale of assessments that is implanted by bourgeois propaganda.

All this serves to fulfill a very complex ideological task - to inspire the most mass audience, primarily the exploited, with those ideas that in their essence contradict their most important vital class interests.

In the system of influencing a mass audience, emotional techniques play a particularly significant role. They are widely used by the television screen, by the bourgeois press, which publishes many illustrations. In the technique of disinformation, they play a leading role. After all, illustrations, and television shots, as a rule, reproduce real events and give that plausibility to the theses and attitudes of bourgeois propaganda, behind which its false essence is hidden. Pictures, illustrations with an external semblance of truth fence off the audience from understanding the essence of phenomena.

And it is no coincidence that the decisive role here is played by the word, which is designed to interpret the image in a way that pleases the propagandist and prevent the reader, the viewer, from thinking about the essence of the fact.

That is why those means of journalism, which seem specially designed to reproduce the reality of life in all its diversity and richness, are especially actively used by bourgeois propaganda for the purpose of disinformation and deception.

The technique of instilling attitudes and manipulating the consciousness of modern bourgeois propaganda is a direct successor to Hitler's technique of the "big lie", the very lie that, having poisoned the consciousness of millions, played an ominous role in the history of peoples. No matter how much today's bourgeois theoreticians and practitioners dissociate themselves from Goebbels' methods and techniques of propaganda, they actively use them, which is shown in a special section of the book.

If stereotyping in the bourgeois press is designed to create attitudes, then the argumentation is to support them by means of journalistic information, in which, in the presence of many arguments, one, the main one, is the truth, the truth of life.

Information policy occupies a significant place in bourgeois propaganda. The abundance of messages gives the audience the appearance of awareness, access to information sources, the ability to draw their own conclusions, give their own assessments. Meanwhile, the very selection of facts is the first and most important method of disinformation. And it is no coincidence that today they talk about the information pollution of consciousness in bourgeois society. The abundance of insignificant messages masquerading as significant, the frequent suppression of the most important events contribute to the creation of a distorted information

picture of the world, which paves the way for the technique of lies.

If we add to this the skillful introduction of the technique of suggestion into the information process, the development of an emotional attitude to messages, it becomes clear that information is today the most important means of disinformation. And here again, the same paradox as with photographs and television film frames: credibility kills truth.

The technique of distorting the picture of the world with the help of purposeful selection of messages involves a shift in real evaluative emphasis. All this is most strikingly manifested in the sensationalism of the bourgeois press, when attention is focused on facts of very little social significance and facts that are really important for understanding the laws of social development are pushed into the background.

The striving of bourgeois propaganda to distort the truth in such a way as to preserve the confidence of readers made it necessary to give the appearance of plausibility to its statements.

One of the most cunning methods of bourgeois journalism is the methods of half-truth and insinuation, when a lot of details and real facts that took place in reality are given only in order to substantiate a completely false and unfounded conclusion and pass it off as the truth.

In this case, numerous argumentation moves and information richness are also called upon to give the appearance of plausibility.

Information as a tool of bourgeois propaganda.

Y. M. Vlasov

Propaganda Mechanism of Information Messages

A significant part of the information transmitted through the channels of the press, radio, and television consists of reports on recent events. They are called differently in different countries. For example, in English they are denoted by journalistic professionalism as “news”. In our reporting practice, this word is also partly used, but in general, we usually call these messages information.

Unlike analytical materials that consider a particular problem from a certain point of view, information in journalism, in our opinion, should be understood as messages from any sphere of reality that cover recent events and in which direct commentary or does not connect the facts with a causal relationship, or completely absent. In such a highly specialized sense, the concept of "information" does not quite coincide with its general theoretical interpretation, because in the general theoretical sense it denotes information about the world that is used by an organism (or machine) in its activity.

In relation to journalism, information in this sense is all, including analytical, materials, provided that they are perceived by the addressee. This circumstance determines, in particular, the collective designation of the press, radio, television as mass media. Such obvious differences in the understanding of the term under consideration require their unconditional distinction. In our opinion, it can be achieved by adding to the word "information" the definitions "event" or "operational", if a special journalistic concept is meant.

As part of the general flow of journalistic materials, event information from the Marxist-Leninist positions cannot but serve the purposes of propaganda.

The capitalist press, radio and television make extensive use of event reports. In some newspapers, they are given up to 65% of the entire editorial (advertising-free) area of the issue. Operational information occupies a significant part of the time of socio-political radio and television broadcasting, going on the air with special issues several times a day, or even around the clock. And this powerful flow of journalistic "information" is often presented in the capitalist world as an impartial, objective recording of events, free from propaganda purposes. “When preparing information, a journalist must constantly be on the alert to prevent the use of news for propaganda purposes,” say, for example, the “Canons of Journalism” adopted by the Association of Japanese Newspaper Publishers and Editors.

Such statements rest essentially on two premises. Firstly, abstractly understood impartiality, the absence of any “opinion” in it, is put forward as a criterion for the objectivity of journalistic material, and, secondly, it is categorically stated that bourgeois journalists just avoid or at least strive to avoid expressing any opinions in information messages.

The illegitimacy of this concept is revealed even if by "opinion" we mean only a direct author's assessment of an event or some of its aspects. For example, in English bourgeois newspapers, on the pages with the heading "News", materials are often published that include, to one degree or another, direct statements by the author about what is being reported. That is why the above definition of event information does not reduce it only to “messages without direct evaluations”, indicates the possibility of the presence of the author’s comment in the information note, but in a special form that

excludes consideration of the causal relationship of phenomena and thereby distinguishes information material from analytical. However, even if we take that part of the news reports where direct commentary, direct authorial assessments of events are completely absent, then even then the reasoning of bourgeois journalists about “pure” information that does not contain any opinion turns out to be untenable.

The subject of event information in journalism is a single actual fact - an unusually complex phenomenon of reality. In essence, this is a completed or incomplete process of interaction between various objects. Each such process is inextricably linked with many others, which together make up an infinite variety.

Covering the reality, the journalist inevitably singles out some units from the whole variety, the interweaving of facts. Thus, he already, as it were, indicates the importance of the displayed events, indirectly fixes his attitude towards them. In addition, the "opinion" of the reporter is also manifested in the description of the fact, because different individuals reflect reality differently, especially when it comes to complex phenomena that cannot be perceived only by the senses. Event information in journalism is secondary, reflected information, and, as such, it cannot but contain at least a hidden “opinion”.

This circumstance is noted in a number of works by Soviet researchers. E. I. Pronin, for example, introduces two concepts of commenting. From his point of view, a comment can be understood in a narrow sense, as a direct increase in the unambiguity and increase in informational redundancy in the message - in other words, a reduction in the degree of freedom in the interpretation of the message by the recipient; commenting, understood broadly, is the selection and symbolic coding of information. One cannot but agree with

such a division. But for the clarity of the wording, it is advisable to understand by commenting in the first sense only a direct author's assessment of the phenomenon, and in the second - to designate it as an interpretation of the fact. It follows from the foregoing that informational journalistic reports, as well as analytical materials, always act as a tool for promoting certain views. In the end, some bourgeois ideologists also come to a similar understanding of event information. But at the same time they find themselves in the undivided power of subjectivist and relativistic concepts.

So, a prominent employee of the New York Times, B. Atkinson, said: ". .a great deal of subjectivity lies in the definition of what is and what is not information. The stock exchange rate and ship schedules are the only things that are not subjective in newspaper Rx. The same thought was expressed in the statement of the German bourgeois press researcher E. Dowifat: "The demands for the press to write "concretely objectively" sent from various quarters are not feasible. The newspaper, even its purely informational part, is thoroughly subjective.

Even the most honest good will to be objective in the most favorable case allows one to be only subjectively truthful. It cannot achieve more ... Any selection, any processing and emphasizing of one message necessarily takes place at the expense of another and is thereby subject to the influence of subjective moments.

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Such arguments are based on the bourgeois understanding of objectivity noted above, the unconditional condition of which is the absence of any opinion in journalistic material. Since, upon closer examination, it turns out that it is simply impossible to avoid an opinion in event information, any journalistic message is declared subjective, untrue.

However, behind such relativism lies a class bourgeois position based on a confusion of the concepts of "interpretation" and "subjective interpretation". If, according to Dowiat, journalistic materials in general and event information in particular cannot be true without the prefix "subjectively", then it turns out that the explanation of reality is always subjective, that there can be no true, objective coverage of phenomena. Carried to its logical conclusion, this reasoning would be a denial of the possibility of any true knowledge about the surrounding world, any science, i.e., it would lead to absurdity.

Marxism does not accept relativism in the pre-Bephatian sense. V. I. Lenin wrote: "Dialectics," as Hegel explained, "includes the moment of relativism, negation, skepticism, but is not reduced to relativism. The materialist dialectic of Marx and Engels certainly includes relativism, but **does not reduce to it,** i.e., it recognizes the relativity of all our knowledge, not in the sense of denying objective truth, but in the sense of the historical conventionality of the limits of our knowledge's approach to this truth.

The interpretive, propagandistic nature of event information does not exclude in principle the objectivity, the truth of the information transmitted by it. The true and only criterion for the objectivity of a message is not the absence of an opinion in it, the transmission of which is impossible to avoid, but the degree to which this opinion and the journalistic material as a whole correspond to objective reality. The problem of

reflecting reality in operational information (if we leave aside deliberate disinformation) does not differ from the problem of cognition in general.

From the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, only the image of an event or fact is subjective. The content of this image can be similar to the phenomenon of reality and, therefore, objective, and true. But in order for it to be such, the reflecting phenomenon must correctly represent the trend in the development of being, perceive and evaluate events from the correct positions. As applied to a journalist, this means a correct representation of the trend in the development of social life, since the press, radio, and television are primarily and mainly called upon to give the audience an orientation regarding the phenomena of social reality.

Journalism, of course, **cannot reflect all the facts of social life.** The highest task, V.I. Lenin pointed out, is to **embrace the objective logic of its evolution** "in general and basic terms in order to adapt one's social consciousness to it as clearly, clearly, critically as possible ...". And he explained that this objective logic can be grasped o**nly if "we look at each question from the point of view of how** a well-known phenomenon in history arose, what main stages in its development this phenomenon went through, and from the point of view of this development see what this thing has become now.

However, such an approach to social phenomena **is possible only** from progressive social positions. In modern historical conditions, only the proletariat is the consistent progressive social class. And therefore, only a journalist, armed with his ideology, sharing his ideological positions, is able in his messages, including informational ones, to **objectively reflect social reality,** to give its phenomena a true interpretation. Because of this, the event information in communist

journalism, while performing a propaganda function, **nevertheless remains objective information.**

Its purpose is to influence the public consciousness in such a way as to bring the subjective activity of people into line with the objective trend of historical development.

Bourgeois journalism is hostile to the ideology of the proletariat. Consequently, its eventual information, being a propaganda tool, is not able to objectively reflect social reality as a whole. In accordance with the interests of the ruling class, it cannot but orient the audience towards c**ounteracting the objective trend of social life.**

Selection of information to the workshop of the bourgeois propaganda

As noted above, the selection of facts for coverage on a newspaper page or on the air is an interpretation of reality. Outlining the general panorama of events, the information body creates a certain vision of the world for the audience. The first and indispensable condition for an objective reflection of social reality in this panorama for a general political information organ should be the predominant coverage of the spheres of politics and economics, where the essence of the social structure of society, the antagonistic or non-antagonistic nature of its class relations is most clearly and directly manifested.

Does the event information in bourgeois journalism correspond to this condition? This question cannot be answered unambiguously.

The capitalist press, radio, television function in a society of antagonistic class contradictions. In essence, they carry two different information flows: one - to the managers, exploiters, the other - to the managed, exploited. These streams

sometimes appear "isolated" - in the form of so-called quality and popular newspapers, special radio and television programs designed for a specific audience; sometimes they are “organizationally” connected, as, for example, in most regional and local publications, in “general” radio and television news programs; but in any case they are addressed to different layers. Appeal to one and the other stream - either in the form of "organizationally isolated" high-quality and popular newspapers, or in the form of a preferential choice of some messages in "mixed" mass media - is determined by the class position and the level of education of a person associated with it.

The qualitative information flow addressed to the representatives of the ruling class primarily reflects the spheres of politics and economics. For example, in the British high-quality bourgeois newspapers The Times and The Guardian, political and economic materials, according to the author's calculations, occupy an average of 63-64% of the entire information space.

The mass information flow, on the contrary, illuminates mainly those spheres of reality where class relations are manifested less clearly, indirectly, or do not manifest themselves at all. It mainly consists of "entertaining" messages of a scandalous and criminal nature. As shown by a special study, in the English popular newspapers "Daily Express" and "Daily Mirror" they account for 67 and 75% of the total volume of event information, respectively. A similar predominance of "entertainment" news is also characteristic of bourgeois radio and television programs intended for a wide audience. Thus, an analysis of 1,800 messages broadcast over two months by two American television news programs revealed "a high percentage of entertaining but insignificant material."

The reasons for such a clear difference between the two information flows are as follows. The qualitative flow is intended to some extent to orient managers in the processes of social reality so that they can effectively counteract the objective trend of social development that runs counter to their aspirations. This finds its expression in the preferential selection of messages from those spheres of reality where class relations manifest themselves most clearly and directly. Covering mainly these areas, high-quality bourgeois journalism at this stage - the stage of selecting categories of information - approaches the objective reflection of social life, as far as it meets the interests of those in power. And it is no coincidence that V. I. **Lenin, exposing the class essence of the bourgeois press,** approached it in a differentiated way, calling capitalist newspapers not only tools for deceiving the masses, but also tools of information for the bourgeoisie.

In contrast to the quality flow, the mass bourgeois information flow addressed to the working people is primarily designed to divert the attention of the exploited from everything that is directly related to the class nature of society. The fulfillment of this task begins with a predominant reflection of those spheres of reality where class relations manifest themselves indirectly or do not manifest themselves at all.

The predominance of sensational entertainment news in the information "block" is nothing but a distortion of the objective picture of social life. Accustomed with the help of entertainment materials to perceive social phenomena on a non-class basis, the mass audience takes for "universal" and such a fact, which was the result of class contradictions. Hence, the overwhelming number of entertaining messages in the popular information flow passes into a certain quality: they become an instrument of "deception and fooling the masses of working people."

The interests of the ruling class are also objectively served by the orientation of the capitalist mass media and propaganda to predominantly cover unusual, extraordinary events. It is most typical again for the mass information flow, the creators of which are invariably guided by the principle: "If a dog bites a person, this is not news, but if a person bites a dog, this is news."

In an effort to reflect the exceptional, bourgeois reporters ignore the dialectic of the general, the particular, and the individual. As a result, the information event panorama distorts the objective picture of reality, which leads to social disorientation of the audience.

In selecting reports for publication, the capitalist press, radio, and television often resort to outright suppression of facts that are unfavorable to the bourgeoisie. This tendency manifests itself whenever certain events sharply affect the interests of the ruling class.

A selective comparison of four British bourgeois publications with a newspaper of the British Communists showed that the suppression of important social facts has become a propaganda device, which is constantly used by both the mass and quality capitalist press. According to the author's calculations, in an average of three weeks, the quality English newspapers The Guardian and The Times hushed up 9 and 10 events each day, respectively, and the massive Daily Express and the Daily Mirror 13 and 14 events noted by the communist press organ each day. in the fields of politics and economics.

Since the bourgeois publications are much larger than the communist newspaper and have immeasurably greater opportunities for collecting information, the absence in them of certain political and economic messages in the

overwhelming majority of cases cannot be regarded otherwise than as a conscious desire to ignore undesirable news. It is conditioned both by the general class character of the capitalist press and by the specifics of a particular bourgeois newspaper. (…)

The messages listed are devoted to notable events in domestic and international life. Information about them does not directly threaten the foundations of capitalist society. It even includes the fact, favorable to newspaper owners, that they have reached an agreement with the trade unions, and a statement, which could provoke a favorable reaction in democratic circles, that Britain is ready to help solve the racial problem in Southern Rhodesia. Therefore, such information is published not only by high-quality newspapers, designed to inform those in power, but to a certain extent also by the mass press. True, already here one can see a different attitude to certain events of specific popular publications, determined by their specifics. The Daily Express, which, along with the workers, is read by quite a few representatives of the petty and partly middle bourgeoisie, like the quality Guardian, sets out eight of the nine reports mentioned, including those about the country's economic difficulties, the growing profits of the monopolies, and so on. Aimed primarily at working people, the Daily Mirror publishes only three pieces, only one of which reflects the pressing problems of the British economy, directly related to the vital interests of the masses.

The newspaper prefers once again not to disturb the minds of "ordinary" people with these problems. (…)

As we can see, in order to orient the managers to counteract the objective trend of social development, the high-quality bourgeois press, to a much greater extent than the popular one, duplicates the topics (but not the methods of interpreting the facts) of the communist press organ. Through at least one

of the two publications under consideration, it carries information to the ruling class about the events listed, reflecting, in particular, a number of serious economic and political problems in Great Britain.

As for the popular bourgeois newspapers, the complete absence in them of information about the above events, which were noted in one way or another by the quality press, is explained by the invariable tendency to narrow the "range" of unfavorable news for the mass audience. But in what both the qualitative and the popular capitalist press are united, it is in the desire to ensure that readers do not treat the activities of progressive organizations favorably, do not think about ways of actually overcoming unemployment, the disasters of working people, etc. Therefore, a number of events noted in the Morning Star, all four bourgeois newspapers passed over in silence. Here's what they didn't say: a demonstration was held to protest against plans to reorganize housing management in the Greater London Council system, as innovations threaten to lose the place of many workers; the conference of health workers decided to support the opposition to cuts in social spending; a number of trade union organizations in different cities of the UK protested against the closure of medical institutions and the reduction of subsidies for health care;

a representative of the Amalgamated Trade Union of Mechanical Engineers denounced the employers' organization's decision to limit the number of workers eligible for inflation-driven wage increases under the so-called social contract;

representatives of the Scottish enterprises producing equipment for the oil industry, told the Department of Energy that in connection with the curtailment of production, thousands of workers were threatened with dismissal, and

demanded that measures be taken to stabilize the industry; the government promised to find new long-term orders;

a joint statement by employers and trade unions indicated that as a result of cuts in social spending, the number of unemployed in Scotland could increase by another 2,000 people;

as the report prepared by the Official Service of Northern Ireland shows, without the expansion of public funds, Ulster industry faces a bleak outlook;

two senior employees of one of the firms received an increase in wages, significantly exceeding the norms established by general agreement between the employers and the Trades Union Congress;

one of the miners' leaders - M. Magahi spoke in the Scottish Miner magazine for the abolition of the so-called social contract - an agreement between trade unions and entrepreneurs, which limits wage growth in conditions of runaway inflation;

a member of the People's Chamber-GDR spoke at a press conference in London for the development of international relations in the spirit of Helsinki;

The British firm has signed a five-year contract for performance of work in the Polish People's Republic;

according to TASS, one of the South Vietnamese villages destroyed during the American aggression has been completely restored;

at the invitation of the Bulgarian trade unions D. Warren,

who was imprisoned in the past as a result of participating in an "unofficial" strike, goes on a trip to Bulgaria with his family.

The bourgeois publications might, of course, not have had several of the reports that related to the day-to-day activities of the Communist Party. But they could not have been unaware of the protest against plans to reorganize the housing sector in the capital, of documents and actions reflecting the economic difficulties of Scotland and Northern Ireland, of the statement of the representative of the GDR, made at a press conference in London, of the contract of a British company with the Polish People's Republic . The lack of information about all this is dictated on the whole by the class bourgeois position of the English newspapers in question.

As the analysis shows, all of them, regardless of narrow party nuances and the nature of the readership, unanimously and consistently hush up facts that, at first glance, may not be so "sharp", but could, in everyday coverage, in their totality, prompt the reader to think about a clear the class division of society, the deep causes of growing social problems. From such silence, the objective picture of social life is distorted even by high-quality newspapers that quite fully cover political and economic relations, not to mention mass newspapers.

Such a propagandistic device of the capitalist mass media as the suppression of essential details of the fact also leads to a distortion of the picture of social reality. A special study revealed that English bourgeois newspapers make extensive use of it for their own narrow party purposes. When covering the same events of the 1970 election campaign. the pro-conservative Daily Express consistently reported fewer negative comments about the Conservative Party than the pro-Labor Daily Mirror, and vice versa. But even more than for narrow party purposes, the technique of partial silence is used in the general class interests of the bourgeoisie. For example, the American newspaper Pottstown Mercury on

September 5, 1968, “made so many abbreviations in the published informational notes that almost a whole page could be made out of them. The paragraphs criticizing the president, the government of the United States, the local executive power and the American policy in Vietnam turned out to be abbreviated.

The propaganda device in question is manifested in a specific way on bourgeois television. In an information program hosted by journalists C. Huntley and D. Brinkley, 20 million American television viewers once saw the following film footage: former US President R. Nixon was knee-deep in a pile of telegrams expressing approval of his recent speech.

What the audience was not told, however, was that the flood of these messages came as a result of an appeal by the National Committee of the Republican Party, distributed through a special bulletin. that is, to promote the interests of the ruling class.

The overwhelming majority of event-related information from the spheres of politics and economics is devoted to the speeches of political and public figures, official documents of various organizations, etc. In other words, this is information about facts that reflect opinions, or simply about facts-opinions. Such facts in themselves, as a rule, contain indications of the cause-and-effect relationships of events. Therefore, the publication of messages about them automatically becomes propaganda of certain views on social reality.

It is clear that the "purely informational" blocs of the capitalist press, radio and television are thus transformed into an instrument of bourgeois propaganda, for they almost exclusively reflect only the opinions of bourgeois leaders. An example is any issue of a capitalist publication, any radio and

television newscast. For example, the British mass bourgeois newspaper The Sun, which usually does not indulge its audience with an abundance of political information, on October 9, 1976, devoted almost a whole page to the speech of the leader of the Conservatives, M. Thatcher. As a result, millions of readers were instilled that the conservative party, which in fact represents the interests of big business, is "a party of ordinary people and a truly national party."

The phenomena of social reality, reflected in the pages of newspapers, in radio and television programs, are extremely complex. One of them can be known only in inseparable unity with others. When applied to event information, this means that a journalist should choose for coverage such facts in which the essential connections of events would be most clearly manifested. However, not every fact has this property. For a true reflection of reality, a direct commentary is often required, an indication of the connection between the covered event and other facts. And if there is no such comment, then its absence leads to an incorrect interpretation of the phenomenon, and "pure" information leads to misinformation of the audience. An analysis of capitalist newspapers, radio and television programs shows that this method is constantly used by bourgeois propaganda.

So, when considering the above method of hushing up events, it was noted that three out of four English bourgeois newspapers, including the massive Daily Express, October 13, 1976 r. announced an increase in TV rental fees by a major British firm. But only from the Communist Morning Star could the reader learn that the profits of radio rental companies have risen from 20 M.'IH to 60 M.'IH in the last five years. f. Art. and therefore the firm's decision is contrary to the Labor government's proclaimed policy of "containment" of prices and incomes.

Since there was no corresponding commentary in both the popular and high-quality press, the capitalist newspapers thus, at first glance, disorientated both the ruled and the managers.

But we must not forget that the reader's interpretation of an uncommented fact depends on how much a person knows the background of events. Those in power, familiar with the situation in the business world, could correctly assess the message even without explanations from the press. A distorted view of reality was received only by readers of the mass publication, who did not have data on the income that the rental of radio equipment brings.

This is how class manifests itself When hostilities broke out in the Middle East in October 1973, English television news programs did not openly support either of the warring parties, covering only the situation on the fronts. But this external impartiality actually obscured the class essence of events, the question of the legitimate desire of the Arab states to liberate the territories occupied by Israel. Thus, it turned out to be a biased and biased approach to the most important international problem.

The message sent to the audience is superimposed in the individual consciousness on the well-known "interpretative structure". This structure, or, in other words, the person's worldview, ultimately determines the interpretation of "pure, uncommented" news. In bourgeois society, such an interpretive factor is primarily the bourgeois worldview, because "the thoughts of those who do not have the means for spiritual production turn out to be generally subordinate to the ruling class." In a single fact resulting from a clash of class interests, the latter may not be clearly manifested. And therefore, the absence of a commentary considering such a fact on a class basis, in the conditions of capitalist society, turns

into its opposite - into an interpretation of the event from "universal", i.e., from class bourgeois, positions.

If we proceed from this point of view, adhering to "as the guiding main thread ... the division of society into classes", one cannot fail to see that the "business" information of the bourgeois press - company reports, stock prices on the stock exchange, etc. - is not simply signals of tactical, operational management of the behavior of businessmen. Messages of this kind contribute to the objective orientation of the ruling class in the particular processes of social reality.

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All the methods mentioned above are somehow connected with the selection of information. They predetermine the general panorama of events in the capitalist press, on radio and television. However, it is important not only what is reported, but also how it is reported. Directed selection of information, subordinated to the goals of bourgeois propaganda, is further supplemented by a number of methods of processing it, which also lead to a distortion of objective reality in the interests of the ruling class.

Classical approach to processing and presenting information

First of all, despite the arguments of bourgeois ideologists about "pure" news, direct commentary is often introduced into the event information of capitalist newspapers, radio, and television stations. Not being as detailed as in analytical materials, it nevertheless gives a clear assessment of the event.

Elements of commentary in the information are used precisely when it is beneficial to the bourgeois propagandist. If their presence is undesirable, they are omitted, as has already been shown. Thus, the complete absence of commentary and the use of its elements subtly interact and give information a propagandist focus.

Direct commentary is used to some extent in radio and television news. But it is especially intensively used in printed publications. Yielding to radio and television in the efficiency of transmitting messages, bourgeois newspapers try to attract readers by explaining events, becoming more and more commentary in nature.

At the same time, they increasingly transfer direct commentary from the "opinion" pages directly to the information columns, in particular, they strive to "refresh somewhat outdated news, giving them a detailed presentation form." Of course, the evaluation of the event is given from the bourgeois positions.

The leading reportage of the issue, which occupied more than half of the front page in the English popular newspaper The Sun on August 24, 1976, was devoted to the strike of employees of the Spanish airline. He began by describing the inconvenience caused by the strike to the British holidaymakers: "The days he dreamed of resting in Spain

turned into a nightmarish waiting in stuffy, crowded halls and sleepless nights on airport benches."

Commenting on the consequences of the strike in this way, the newspaper caused hostility towards the workers who stand up for their life rights, especially since neither the level of their salary, nor the essence of the conflict was noted in the report. The inconvenience of tourists was brought to the fore, which, for the most part, of course, represent the wealthy segments of the population.

When in September 1976 the USSR delegation submitted to the UN a proposal to conclude a World Treaty on the Nonuse of Force in International Relations, the quality New York Times newspaper commented on the new Soviet initiative directly in the news report. The comment was expressed in the fact that the act of the Soviet Union was compared with the proposal of the FRG to work out measures to suppress terrorism: “The United Nations. New York. September 28th. Two draft treaties aimed at preventing the use of force in international relations are submitted today to the General Assembly for consideration - the complete prohibition of force as an instrument of diplomacy, proposed by the Soviet Union, and the call to stop terrorism emanating from West Germany. The initiatives of the two countries embody different approaches - general and specific, through which the world could begin to solve the complex problems of our time.

Already this "inception" was clearly intended to muffle the impression of the Soviet initiative, because with all the possible significance of the West German proposal, it raised a private issue that did not affect the vital problem of mankind. However, the matter was not limited to the "beginning". The position of the bourgeois publication was further revealed in a direct assessment of the two initiatives. The newspaper asserted that the FRG project "causes more interest in the

Assembly." As irrefutable evidential facts, this comment in the informational message was contrary to the true state of affairs: "The UN General Assembly approved by an overwhelming majority of votes the new initiative of the Soviet Union" 2 and decided to include the question "On the conclusion of a World Treaty on the Nonuse of Force in International Relations" on the agenda of its next session.

In the examples given, the direct comment appears to be rather extended. But it is not always given as a whole paragraph or phrase. The attitude to this or that event can be expressed in one word. In essence, the use of evaluative concepts under the guise of neutral ones in the information should be considered as direct commenting on the fact. They are widely used by the capitalist press, radio, and television in the interests of the ruling class. Words that do not have an exact meaning serve the same purpose. Using them is called the technique of brilliant uncertainty.

If the information refers to the capitalist countries, then they constantly appear before the audience as a “free world”, and the class essence of bourgeois society, the exploitative nature of capitalist production are obscured by the abstract concepts of “modern way of life”, “modern industry”. Strikes are often referred to as "dissensions in industry".

The technique of brilliant uncertainty often interacts with the technique of labeling, when the opponent is brought under the negative stereotype that has developed in the minds of the audience. As a result, the contrast necessary for the bourgeois propagandist is created in the information message. Clear class categories are replaced by abstract categories of good and evil, and through brilliant indefiniteness the first is associated with the phenomena of the bourgeois world, and the second is associated with the world of socialism through labels.

Bourgeois propaganda “turns” information to the advantage of the ruling class with the help of other methods as well, such as “appeal to the majority,” i.e., the assertion that one or another action is supported by the vast majority of the population, etc.

The specificity of the printed publication determines one of the most important ways of indirectly commenting on facts. The reader of bourgeois newspapers, consisting of many pages, perceives information selectively. He often doesn't read the message beyond the first paragraph. With this in mind, bourgeois journalists (at least in English-speaking countries) build information material according to the so-called inverted pyramid principle.

In accordance with it, the details of the event being covered should be arranged in descending order of their importance, so that the reader can learn the most important thing from the initial phrase. However, the importance of this or that detail is not verified by the press of the monopolies according to objective criteria.

In the first paragraph, the significance of which the editors often emphasize by means of printing design, the facts most beneficial to the ruling class are brought out. At the same time, in popular newspapers, the opening phrases of informational notes often fix unimportant details or circumstances that obscure the meaning of the event.

Let us turn to the issue of the English mass newspaper The Daily Express, published on November 21, 1964 - about a month after the Labor Party replaced the Conservatives at the helm of power, who had been continuously ruling the country for 13 years.

The introductory phrase of one of the notes in this issue read: "What the foreman said about the magnate caused a sharp

skirmish yesterday in the House of Commons." Some clarification followed: "Foreman - there is no other word for it - this is, of course, Charles Panneel, Minister of Construction, because his task is to ensure that construction workers in Britain have their fair share, better conditions and work more productively" (note, in this In this case, the first paragraph contains not so much a fact as a comment, moreover, a comment of a completely definite nature, aimed at "pleasuring" the working people).

Further, the note narrated that, reporting on the shortage of bricks in construction, the minister called one of the entrepreneurs a magnate, this caused discontent, the members of the chamber condemned the minister in their speeches for a “harsh word”. It was only in the last paragraph that the gist was stated: "All this was in addition to the all-important debate about the shortage of bricks, which Mr. Panneel hopes to fill by urging the industrialists to increase production by 8 percent." Thus, by means of reasoning favorable to the ruling class in the first paragraph, the mass newspaper diverted the attention of readers from economic difficulties, and at the same time, together with the parliamentarians, condemned the dissonant word "tycoon", not forgetting at the same time to somewhat support the blundered minister. But this is not a complete list of her "achievements" in a short note.

Another "success" can be found by contacting the Guardian number for the same number. The editorial staff of a quality newspaper understands that the readers of The Guardian have little interest in the description of the debate over the "tycoon". Therefore, just like the editorial staff of The Times, they do not even mention it in the parliamentary report, but immediately, from the first paragraph, "takes the bull by the horns":

“Mr. Charles Panneel said that the most striking thing he discovered when he took office (after the departure of the Conservative government. Y.V.) was that during this financial year the production (of bricks. -Y.V.)) falls short of demand by 100 million pieces ... The lack of confidence of suppliers in the sale of products was mainly the result of the "go-stop-go" policy pursued by the sitting administration (i.e., conservatives. -Y.V.). This policy limited the demand for bricks in 1954 and 1961."

So, one more "achievement" of the mass conservative newspaper is obvious. The Guardian article shows that, for its partisan purposes, the Daily Express concealed from its readers that the former Conservative government was to blame for the brick shortage. The liberal Guardian, unlike the conservative Daily Express, does not hesitate to reveal this. Qualitative "Guardian" is not an example of the massive "Daily Express" for the orientation of the ruling class puts in the first paragraph is really the most important fact of this note. Such a different approach of high-quality and popular newspapers to the selection of facts for a naive phrase can be traced in many cases.

Quality bourgeois newspapers are called upon not to confuse, but to orient their influential readers within certain limits. And therefore, in the first paragraphs of messages, in most cases they bring out facts that are really important for the ruling class. The quality press changes this rule only when it is necessary to gloss over, to smooth over the most acute contradictions of bourgeois society.

An integral part of the structure of newspaper information material is the headline. If the introductory paragraph is "a highly condensed version of the correspondence, then the heading is an introduction, condensed again." at least the first impression of it is through "a cursory glance at the headlines."

Taking this into account, bourgeois journalists often use the headline to directly comment on an information note from the standpoint of the ruling class.

The English Daily Express headlined the report on the fall of the production index for three months as follows: "Strikes are the reason for the collapse of the boom." This commentary headline didn't even match the text of the note, which noted that the index fell as a result of "changes in the timing of holidays and strikes in the auto industry."

The class meaning of a headline distorting objective reality in a popular conservative newspaper will be revealed even more clearly if one considers that high-quality bourgeois publications cited the change in vacation dates as the reason for the fall in the index, while the communist Morning Star associated this fact with miscalculations in the government's policy of limiting incomes.

Let us return to the above-mentioned New York Times report on the Soviet proposal to conclude a World Treaty on the Nonuse of Force in International Relations. The desire of the bourgeois publication to weaken the impression of the new Soviet initiative was already evident in the subtitle of the note, which did not accurately reflect the reaction of the participants in the UN General Assembly: “Moscow's proposal arouses little interest, but the West German project for the suppression of terrorism attracts attention.”

The "informational" headline in bourgeois newspapers often fulfills its propagandistic role by the fact that, like the first paragraph, it contains an insignificant, insignificant detail.

A very effective means of indirect commenting is the installation of messages in the information block. In radio and television broadcasts, the sequence of transmission of materials undoubtedly matters.

The impression of a particular piece of news can be smoothed out or strengthened by messages coming "before" and "after" it, because they create a certain background against which this information is perceived. But of particular importance is, perhaps, the installation of informational notes in printed publications. Front-page stories, of course, get more attention than messages on the inside pages, and multi-line stories at the top more than little notes in the middle or at the bottom of the page. When assembling an information block, the editorial board of a bourgeois newspaper, quite understandably, proceeds from this position.

In mass publications, the desire to highlight sensational and scandalous information is clearly manifested. So, on October 9, 1976, almost the entire front page of the English "Sun" was devoted to a report on the crimes of an armed sex maniac, on October 10, an illustrated report on the atrocities of hooligan football fans, on October 12, a story about how religious fanatics killed their own daughter, etc. etc.

Political-economic reports in popular newspapers are usually small in size. They are lost among the screaming scandalous sensational messages, and the reader either does not notice them at all, or, subconsciously comparing the sizes of the materials, perceives them as insignificant, secondary. (..)

Thus, for decades, the US media, in favor of the entrepreneurs of the tobacco industry, “muted” data on the dangers of smoking and statements by congressmen demanding restrictions on tobacco advertising.

The most respectable organs of the press, such as the New York Times, did not resort to complete suppression of information. This newspaper just put it inconspicuously on the inside and-and back pages so that the issue never became

a real problem and did not receive the attention it deserved. (..)

Repeated from day to day, this method of assembling information obscures the class basis of social existence. Both accidental incidents and natural social phenomena are placed in one row by means of “variegated” montage. In mass newspapers this leads to the complete disorientation of the exploited, in a quality press it limits the orientation of the ruling class to certain limits, going beyond which is contrary to the interests of the bourgeoisie.

As you can see, the methods of "purely informational" coverage of reality are already capable of turning the panorama of events in a favorable way for those in power. However, the matter is not limited to this. Information does not remain in a vacuum. The most significant news becomes the subject of the widest discussion in commentary radio and television programs, on the newspaper pages of "opinions", which, of course, largely determines the perception of "pure information" by the audience.

News commentary is a deployment of event information. In bourgeois propaganda, it is carried out from the positions of the exploiting class or its separate grouping, which distorts the perception of even objective messages. Thus, the statements of some bourgeois ideologists about the impartiality of event information in the capitalist press, on radio and television are untenable. An information note, and even more so a whole information block, cannot but contain “opinions”, at least in a hidden form. But if in progressive journalism it is called upon to bring the subjective activity of people in line with the objective historical trend, then in bourgeois journalism it is subordinated to the interests of the ruling class. And since the aspirations of this class run counter to the objective course of social development, the eventual information of the bourgeois

press, radio, and television is ultimately biased and gives a distorted reflection of social life.

Selecting information beneficial to those in power, hushing up socially important facts and clogging the information flow with secondary, "entertainment" messages, especially in mass publications and radio and television programs, bourgeois journalists present their audience with an event panorama in which the main directions of social development are obscured.

The bias of information in capitalist journalism is determined, further, by the wide coverage of the opinions of bourgeois figures, the absence of comments that reveal the class division of society, such propaganda methods of reporting as partial suppression of essential details of the event, brilliant uncertainty, labeling, emphasizing secondary facts, "variegated" editing materials, etc.

There is no such thing as abstract objectivity, irrespective of the class position of a journalist. Despite some differences in the qualitative and mass information flows, on narrow party shades in the presentation of event information, capitalist journalism consistently and steadily defends the interests of the ruling class, spreads bourgeois ideology through information "blocs".

Stereotyping as a method of bourgeois propaganda

A. Golovanova

Criticism of the concept of stereotyping public opinion by W. Lippmann and his followers

The propaganda activity of the mass media of a capitalist society is based on the introduction into the minds of people of the "values" of the bourgeois way of life in the form of a system of stereotypes - standards of behavior, social myths,

political illusions. Stereotyping, that is, psychological influence through the creation of illusory stereotypes, is one of the main methods of bourgeois propaganda.

Initially, the concept of "stereotype" was related only to printing, denoting a metal printing plate cast from a printing set, then it began to be found in the works of sociologists, social psychologists, and propaganda theorists. For the first time, the concept of "social stereotype" in relation to the practice of propaganda was used by the American journalist W. Lippman in the book "Public Opinion" (1922). The concept developed by him, further developed by his followers, became the theoretical basis of the bourgeois propaganda method of stereotyping public opinion. The concept of W. Lippmann was repeatedly subjected to critical analysis in the works of Soviet scientists.

Lippman, having analyzed the mass, everyday consciousness, and the role of the press in shaping public opinion, came to the conclusion that stereotypes - preconceived opinions - completely control the entire process of perception. In developing his concept, he relied on the data of psychological science. on the reflex nature of human mental activity. Russian scientists I. M. Sechenov and I. P. Pavlov warned against a mechanical understanding of reflex activity, from reducing it to a simple “stimulus-response” scheme, pointing to material causality as the basic principle of the reflex theory, to the active reflection of reality by a person, depending on his past experiences, prior perceptions, etc.

W. Lippmann, focusing on the difficulties of the process of cognition and perception of the surrounding world, put forward the idea of the process of thinking as simple reactions to external stimuli (the philosophical basis of this concept was the subjective-idealistic works of J. Dewey, the founder of the philosophy of pragmatism and J. Watson, the founder of the

bourgeois "theories of behavior" - behaviorism). The essence of his concept boils down to the following: since “a person first represents the world, and then sees it”, since “reality is too vast, complex and changeable for direct acquaintance with it”, a person rebuilds the world around “according to a simple model”. Under the influence of information about events, rather than direct observation of them, Lippman argues, simplified images, standardized ideas about the world around us, “pictures in our heads,” or stereotypes, are formed in the human mind. But, based on external, superficial knowledge about a phenomenon or object, they can be false. Lippman himself distinguished between the external world and the "pictures in the minds", emphasizing their inadequacy, that is, he pointed to the illusory nature of stereotypes.

W. Lippmann simplifies the process of cognition and thinking. The process of cognition, perception of the new, he says, is the process of summing up, mechanically fitting an as yet unknown phenomenon, fact under a stable general formula or image. There is a standardization of the phenomenon, which, according to Lippmann, is the norm, the law. Arguing that a person lives by feelings, and not by reason, he absolutizes the first, sensual stage of cognition and denies the role of reason, the ability of a person to cognize the world.

The American journalist exaggerates the role of emotional and irrational factors in the formation of public opinion, gives stereotypes - these simplest elements of the human psyche - a universal meaning, believing that they are "the core of a person's personal tradition", "protection. . . position in society."

Stereotypes, acting as a stimulus, are designed to evoke a reaction in a person - feelings of sympathy, antipathy, fear, love, hatred in relation to certain social phenomena. Considering the role of the press in shaping public opinion,

W. Lippman argued that with the help of information it can create a false picture of the world that does not correspond to reality, calculated on the emotional reaction of the audience, i.e. he thus: the manipulative possibilities of the press, which was used by bourgeois propaganda.

Lippman spoke of the need for simplification, stereotyping, fitting the complex, the new to the simple, the well-known, he believed that it was simply impossible for an editor dealing with news to do “without standardization, without stereotypes, without routine opinions”, “without ruthlessly ignoring subtleties”. And the first reason for using stereotypes, in his opinion, is the need to save time and effort. Indeed, when complex ideas are embodied in a simplified collective image, then it takes less time and effort to perceive and comprehend them.

Stereotypes wean a person to analyze phenomena, evaluate them critically, teach them to accept them unconditionally.

Bias is also a characteristic, according to Lippmann, property of a stereotype. The stability and bias of an emotional symbol can contribute to its transformation into a label, prejudice, preconception.

The American journalist believed that each category of people has its own stereotypes and the antagonism between people is determined not by their class position, not by their different attitudes towards the means of production, but by "the difference between their standards of stereotypes." And to unite people, according to Lippmann, can be a "single symbol." As such, he proposed "Americanism".

The corresponding set of symbols, incentives affects a person, on the one hand, rooting his faith in the existing system, causing positive emotions - approval, sympathy, on the other hand, causing negative emotions - a feeling of fear, hatred for

everything that threatens this system, primarily to communism.

The psychological impact of such emotionally charged models will have an effect, because the influence that "create and maintain stereotypes" is, Lippman notes, "the most profound and subtle."

Bourgeois sociologists see the main advantage of W. Lippmann's concept in that it emphasizes the special role of emotional and irrational factors in the process of shaping public opinion. The American sociologist Young, for example, in his book "Social Psychology" following Lippman, absolutizes stereotypes, claims that class ideologies consist of "stereotypes, social myths and legends. A set of stereotypes, in his opinion, helps "in determining past, present and future situations."

As for the propaganda theorists, they not only adopted Lippmann's thesis about the possibility of psychological processing of people with the help of illusory stereotypes, but also "deepened" it with the thesis about the need for such an impact. His point of view that the "average man" thinks irrationally was supported by bourgeois sociologists and propaganda theorists. They all agree that propaganda should be addressed not to the human mind, but to emotions. Although they no longer deny the role of consciousness, they note the importance of previous experience, but they still consider stereotyping to be the main method of propaganda - the development of stereotyped ideas with the help of information. J. Ellul, a prominent French bourgeois theoretician and researcher of propaganda, believes that "to a certain extent, all his (man. -GG.) stereotypes, prejudices ... are products of propaganda."

He notes that simplifications in propaganda are necessary and the larger the audience, the greater the need for simplification. If a rather complex phenomenon, an idea, is stereotyped, then the gap between these simplified representations and reality widens. “Stereotypes can be a fake for reality, and the deliberate distortion and manipulation of them is widely practiced today,” admits the American propaganda theorist W. Albig.

J. Ellul in the book "Propaganda" makes specific recommendations on how to conduct propaganda more effectively, writes about the need for the propagandist to know the audience, the set of its stereotypes, the ground on which propaganda operates.

Ellul talks about the manipulative possibilities of propaganda implemented with the help of information, stereotypes, and its role in instilling prejudice.

The bourgeois theory of stereotyping, therefore, is an instrument of ideological and political pressure on the masses.

"Transferred to the practice of propaganda, the concept of stereotyping serves as a methodological basis for developing methods of spiritual influence of the "elite" on the masses, manipulating the consciousness of the individual."

The fight against bourgeois propaganda, which is planting old stereotypes, requires an understanding of the socio-psychological foundations of stereotyping. Stereotypes and stereotypical thinking are categories that really exist. The stereotype is based on a real psychological phenomenon.

Stereotyping is associated with such a concept as the setting of perception, i.e., the willingness to perceive a phenomenon in a certain way, in a certain light, depending on the person's previous experience. The attitude constitutes the

psychological basis of the stereotype. A setting wider than a stereotype is a stereotypical relationship, and a stereotype is already acquiring specific features of the image. In contrast to the motive - conscious motivation - installation - involuntary motivation.

B. D. Parygni defines it as “a stable, established and stereotyped social perception by a person of the phenomena and events around him ...”. Installation of perception - in everyday life - point of view. Installation - a certain tendency in relation to an object, phenomenon, person, a willingness to perceive something in a favorable light, with prejudice or preconception.

One of the contributors to the collection of papers American Sociology, J. E. Davis, notes that the media have "an incredible power to influence attitudes" 3 but their influence is not always effective in its ability to establish attitudes or break them. For example, most American newspapers opposed the candidacy of F. Roosevelt for the post of head of government, but each time he had a majority of votes and became president, that is, the possibilities of the media in terms of changing or forming attitudes are still limited.

The Soviet researchers G. M. Kondratenko and V. L. Artemov were engaged in elucidating the socio-psychological nature of stereotypes. People create generalized ideas about facts, phenomena of reality, writes the first, on the basis of previous experience; they learn generally accepted social norms, opinions, assessments. “This is a condition for the spiritual development of modern man and a natural socio-psychological regularity.

It helps a person navigate the flow of information. Mass media can be used to concretize and direct the content of this process. As VL Artemov emphasizes, the bourgeoisie has

learned to use the real nature of stereotypes for its own class purposes. “The creation of illusory stereotypes has become one of the most important methods of bourgeois propaganda precisely due to ... the objective features of the stereotype as a socio-psychological phenomenon.

Stereotype - emotional-evaluative education. Its nature consists of two components - knowledge and attitudes (attitudes), and this knowledge is standard, simplified, and the attitude is emotional. Attitude in the stereotype prevails.

Stereotypical formations, judgments, assessments, images are concentrated in ready-made formulas - in propaganda clichés, concretized in the media with the help of linguistic means and visual images.

In most cases, stereotypes manifest themselves in labels, false generalizations, which are very actively used by bourgeois propaganda to evoke an appropriate emotional reaction from the audience. Stereotypes have an inspiring effect, which is also taken into account by journalism representing the interests of monopolies.

Stereotypes form the basis of the myths on which bourgeois ideology is based.

The mass media in a capitalist society, using the method of stereotyping, introduce reactionary myths and illusions into the minds of readers, listeners, viewers, plant racial prejudices - false ideas about peoples of other nationalities, about ethnic groups.

Consider the practice of introducing ideological stereotypes in the world of capital, the main propaganda clichés of bourgeois journalism.

Stereotypes in the practice of bourgeois propaganda

A. Golovanova

Stereotypes planted by bourgeois propaganda perform protective functions, such as supporting the existing system, cultivating loyalty to the capitalist order and, accordingly, fear of communism, hatred of the system that opposes the bourgeois way of life.

In fact, stereotypes have always been used in a class-antagonistic society as labels for opposing social forces.

When fabricating them, a primitive method of opposition is used according to the "black-white" principle: what serves the interests of the ruling class and protects the foundations of capitalism is positively evaluated, and negatively what threatens these foundations (in fact, everything progressive). In addition, to create stereotypes, mass bourgeois propaganda resorts to its usual methods - lies, disinformation, silence, etc.

In order to fix stereotypes in the minds of the masses, bourgeois propaganda practices repeated, persistent repetition of the same words and phrases, which eventually become symbols.

The constant reproduction of fabricated stereotypes creates the prerequisites for their uncritical perception, assimilation by the audience. An important role here is played by the suggestion of stereotypical ideas without any special evidence, logical constructions, in some cases only with reference to "authority".

Stereotypes can be created at different levels of consciousness: at the theoretical level - in doctrines, for example, and in the practice of bourgeois propaganda - by the mass media. Their

introduction into the consciousness of a person in bourgeois society goes from childhood.

School, family, religion participate in this, but such influence is most intensively carried out by the press, radio, and television.

In the media, there is a differentiation in the methods of stereotyping depending on their specifics, the audience, its social status. Stereotyping is inherent in all components of bourgeois publications - textual material, advertising, and illustrations. It also manifests itself in the presentation of materials.

"Internal" stereotypes.

Bourgeois propaganda, over the course of many years of practice, has developed a number of propaganda clichés that characterize capitalist society in a favorable light.

The press, in particular, has always defended the thesis that the Western way of life is the best in the world (as a stereotype derived from it - the American way of life - is the best in the world), and imposed it on the whole world as a model, instilled faith in the system of "free enterprise ", advertised the capitalist world as a society of "equal opportunities", imposed stereotypes of "personal success".

Propaganda for the apologetics of capitalism found favorable labels - "consumer society", "people's capitalism", supposedly providing prosperity for everyone, in fact, false, illusory ideas that obscure inequality in a capitalist society. As the highest political values of the "free world" (another stereotype), "freedom" and "democracy" are presented. The purpose of introducing these basic protective stereotypes and their derivatives is the formation of positive attitudes towards capitalism.

But under the influence of socio-economic and political changes in the world, the stereotypes planted by bourgeois propaganda clash with reality. Apologetic stereotypes cease to work, there is a crisis of confidence in the media.

The socio-economic system of "free enterprise" has long since outlived its usefulness, replaced by the control of banks and giant monopolies; "equality of opportunity" turns into a deepening inequality between the haves and the have-nots; poverty, unemployment, inflation refute the myth of prosperity.

Bourgeois reality has deprived the slogans of freedom and democracy put forward at the dawn of capitalism of real content.

Corruption in the state apparatus, terrorism, violation of the norms of humanity, persecution of dissidents in the bourgeois world leave these concepts only a verbal shell.

The discrepancy between propaganda stereotypes and reality becomes especially egregious in times of crisis. Thus, in the late 1960s and early 1910s, when American society was gripped by a crisis marked by a decline in production, a crisis of confidence in the government, a decline in morals, etc., the American bourgeois press could not disregard reality and ignore the difficulties otherwise it would completely undermine the readers' confidence in her. However, she was faithful to the tactics developed during the economic crisis of 1929-1933, smoothing out difficulties, simplifying their causes, reassuring readers, putting forward mythical ways of prosperity, continuing to instill false stereotypes of “achieving success” (“success by chance”, “seize your chance”), faith in the power and vitality of America.

For example, in September 1970, the Readers Digest magazine, which has the largest circulation in the world (30

million copies, of which 18 million circulate in the United States, 12 million outside of them), reprinted an article from Newsweek magazine "Is America Really Sick?" and in the editorial introduction to it he stated: “No, says the well-known historian . . . The causes of national diseases are imaginary, and the rest are not as serious as we imagine.”

In April 1971, on the occasion of the 195th anniversary of the United States, Reader's Digest published an article by J. Reston "Uncle Sam's State" (reprinted from The New York Times), which stated that Uncle Sam (i.e., the United States) was in generally in fairly good shape, its pulse and heart work as rhythmically as the tides of the sea.

True, something needs to be changed in the old man. But this will not take too much time and effort - after all, nothing terrible has happened to him. All he needs is to rest a little and think.” Thus, the magazine continued to propagate the old favorable "image" of America - Uncle Sam, in which some things need to be slightly tweaked for his own good. And this position is characteristic not only of American propaganda, but also of the entire bourgeois press when it comes to the vital instability of capitalism.

The economic crisis that began in 1973 and continues to the present and has engulfed the entire capitalist world received similar coverage in the press. Some press organs, usually embellishing bourgeois reality, are forced to publish materials of a critical nature. For example, the United States News and World Report, in its issue of April 30, 1973, published a review of very harsh statements by ordinary Americans about rising prices, taxes, crime, etc. But to reveal the causes of the crisis, to point out ways out of it - bourgeois propaganda is not able to do this. So such critical statements by the press do not change anything in essence in the apologetics of capitalism. But the old stereotypes and myths, planted for a long time by

bourgeois propaganda, are already becoming obsolete and proving their inconsistency in the modern era, especially in the conditions of the general crisis of the capitalist world, that even the American magazine Reader's Digest, which is itself constantly engaged in myth-making, fabricating illusory ideas about reality , is forced to declare: "... the old myths no longer work, and new effective myths have not been created. As a result, the West is in the throes of reorientation."

This does not mean that the magazine, which is the most characteristic edition of the American mass press and concentrates the stereotypes implanted by it, has refused to distribute them. In his opinion, if old stereotypes and myths no longer work, new ones should be invented. That is why he calls his article "Wanted: New Myths for Modern Man".

The bourgeois press, while extolling the freedoms allegedly afforded to man by capitalist society, at the same time demands that they be curtailed, in particular, that the right of workers to strike be limited or completely abolished. Actively defending the interests of business and monopolies, it is trying to call on the workers to "work in one team" with the entrepreneurs, that is, to a class world. If this does not work out and the workers go on strike, the bourgeois press seeks to create a negative image among the townsfolk of rioters-strikers, whose actions allegedly "threaten the public interests", cause "economic damage to the whole society", lead to chaos, anarchy. For example, the English bourgeois newspaper The Daily Express incites readers against the left-wing trade unions, declaring them "irresponsible" for leading strikes and opposing them to "moderate", "responsible" trade unions that resolve conflicts with entrepreneurs peacefully.

Most acutely, the discrepancy between the reality of the stereotypes preached by the bourgeois press was felt by the youth. The student movement of the mid-1960s and early

1970s meant a protest against war, racial discrimination, as well as a rejection of the institutions of the bourgeois state, the establishment press and its propaganda.

During the speeches, the youth created their own protest press, the so-called "underground" press, in opposition to the bourgeois press.

The bourgeois press has always fabricated negative stereotypes of those forces that tried to encroach on the foundations of capitalist society. In this case, she tried to discredit the youth movement. In the midst of student uprisings in the second half of the 60s in the USA, France, Germany, the press created a repulsive, negative image of student rebels, enemies of "law and order" among the townsfolk.

Bourgeois newspapers and magazines, fabricating their propaganda clichés in depicting youth, pursued the goal of belittling the scope of student protests, distorting their character, opposing the “rebellious minority” to the bulk of students and youth, and drawing young people into the orbit of bourgeois society, its interests.

The US press savored the views and actions of hippies, various leftist groups, generally safe for the establishment, and the progressive speeches of students for the democratization of society, for civil rights, and against aggression in Indochina were presented in a negative light. "Reader's digest", for example, by sticking labels, using false analogies. opinions of "authorities", demagoguery created a distorted image of the left-wing youth organization "Students for a Democratic Society" among readers.

In an article titled "Campus Chaos Makers," he wrote, "A small but highly active gang of college students calling themselves Students for a Democratic Society are doing

everything they can to do away with democracy and society." Silent about the atrocities of the police towards students, the magazine called the organization "Students for a Democratic Society" "an alliance of terrorists", playing on the fear of the layman, frightened by the growth of criminality in the country, equated the speeches of students of a political nature with criminal ones, thereby distorting the true picture of student movement and imposed on the reader the most absurd idea of reality.

Through the efforts of the bourgeois press, an auto-stereotype of a “free press” was created, an expression of public opinion, independent, impartial, etc. “The free press helped create America” - such was, for example, the leitmotif of the self-praise of the American press on the eve of the 200th anniversary of the United States.

The thesis of "freedom of the press" (meaning the press of the capitalist countries) has become a propaganda cliché in the West. As is practiced in the fabrication of other stereotypes, the "free press" is contrasted on the principle of "black and white" with the supposedly "non-free press" in the socialist countries.

The failure of this propaganda stereotype is proved, on the one hand, by the existence of press monopolies and the ever-deepening process of its concentration and monopolization, leading to control over information, to its standardization and unification in the interests of those in power, to the manipulation of public opinion, and, on the other hand, to the persecution of progressive and even liberal-minded journalists, the restrictions constantly imposed on the freedom of the press by the legislative, executive and judicial authorities of the capitalist countries.

Here are a few recent facts that contribute to the destruction of the "free press" stereotype. Known for his reactionary views, the French newspaper magnate R. Ersan, the owner of 11 daily provincial newspapers, 9 weeklies in Normandy, 11 magazines, the ASPI press agency, the Publi-Print advertising agency, many printing houses 1, despite the strikes of journalists, public protests, bought in 1975 the oldest French newspaper Le Figaro, and in 1976 - the largest evening newspaper in terms of circulation, France-Soir.

In 1976 was fired from the American magazine "Psychology Today" its editor-in-chief J. Harris for publishing a revealing article about alcoholism in the United States. The article caused discontent among the magazine's advertisers - liquor dealers.

In 1976 F. Simonnot, a journalist, was fired from the French newspaper Le Monde for publishing materials revealing the machinations of oil companies in France. The French bourgeois press, boasting of its freedom, kept complete silence on this matter, and only the communist press, headed by L'Humanite, took a consistent and principled stand, and supported the journalist.

Another example. When M. Stockwood, Bishop of Southwark, at the end of 1975, in a letter to the British Communist newspaper The Morning Star, allowed himself to declare that the roots of England's economic difficulties lay in the very structure of its society, the bourgeois press, headed by The Times, defended in words "freedom of opinion", launched a campaign to harass Stockwood. In this way, she showed that she understands the freedom of the press unambiguously, as the freedom to praise the capitalist system and persecute those who question its “values”.

The stereotype "the press is the watchdog of democracy" is being implanted by the American bourgeois press, and it began to be introduced especially intensively in connection with the Watergate case. When the liberal press uncovered abuses in the course of the investigation of the Suwaterate case, the bourgeois ideologists with renewed vigor began to exalt the press as free, independent, and the Washington Post journalists C. Bernstein and B. Woodward, who had begun this campaign and acted especially actively, were announced a little or national heroes. However, the vices that the liberal press has revealed - the abuse of power, the practice of secret searches, surveillance, wiretapping - are obvious, blatant, they testify to the violation of freedom and democracy in a country where it is so vigorously declared and advertised, and in revealing these vices, there is no feat.

Reporters who "expose" individuals are guided by the interests of internal political struggle, the pursuit of sensation and commercial considerations. In particular, journalists K. Bernstein and B. Woodward did good business at Watergate, having received over a million dollars for the book and the script for the movie All the President's Men.

The fact that the stereotype “the press is the watchdog of democracy” is false, that freedom of the press is illusory, is also confirmed by the crisis of reader confidence in the media, which has worsened in the United States during the years of economic difficulties.

Bourgeois propaganda actively contributes to the formation of racial prejudices among the population. The racial stereotypes it inculcates are oversimplified and distorted ideas about racial and national groups. Even the bourgeois scientists K. Jahn and D. Katz, who have studied such stereotypes, note their false character.

Racial discrimination, with its consequences - unemployment, poverty, lack of rights - is the lot of national minorities in many countries, and especially in the United States.

Bourgeois ideologists seek to justify its existence by the eternal nature of man and consider the problem not so much in social as in moral terms. Anti-Northern prejudices have existed in the United States since the appearance of black slaves there. Especially intensively racial stereotypes were formed by the press since the time of the Civil War.

The negative stereotype of the Negro served to protect the position of whites, the assertion of their superiority over black people. The press set up the townsfolk against the blacks urged to "put them in their place", using a derogatory term, given to blacks by American racists, The Negro was portrayed as a cruel, lustful creature, as a rapist and a thief. Under the influence of social changes in society, there is a change in racial and national stereotypes. As long as the Negroes occupied a subordinate position, were servants, propaganda created an opinion about them as stupid, lazy, dirty creatures. The successes of blacks in music and sports affected the cultivation of the idea of them as beings that could only entertain white people. And finally, under the influence of the speeches of blacks for equality, the media began to intensively fabricate negative stereotypes of blacks as aggressors, rebels.

In interpreting the Negro problem, the American bourgeois press is true to its system of stereotyping: on the one hand, it embellishes the situation of the Negroes, constructing an idyllic picture of the racial world that falsifies the true situation; on the other hand, the creation of a negative image of "ungrateful blacks", "renegades", for whom so much has been done, but they dare to be dissatisfied.

Readers' Digest magazine, for example, claimed that 100 years ago, Negroes became "free on paper, but now they are free in deed." But since the Negroes are dissatisfied, they are fighting for equality, the bourgeois press creates among the townsfolk in order to intimidate them with a stereotypical idea of the unrest of the Negroes as a manifestation of "anarchy", "violence", "lawlessness". Its pages created a distorted image of members of the radical black party "Black Panthers". They are represented by murderers, destroyers, robbers. "...Their goal is to kill policemen, destroy bridges, set fire to factories...

The Black Panthers' biggest source of funds is armed robbery and extortion," Reader's Digest magazine said. Since August 1968, the police began to carry out punitive operations against the Black Panthers, but the press portrayed this as a measure of self-defense against the deliberate violence of members of the organization. It falsified the main Black Panthers' goal - the equality of blacks, deliberately sticking out the nationalist excesses of this party.

Thus, American bourgeois propaganda, planting false stereotypes of Negroes - fighters for civil rights, actually comes out from racist positions. Now she is trying to adapt to the changes taking place in society, and even show (in words, of course) that she stands for equality. Blacks appear on the pages of advertisements, which used to be taboo.

The contemptuous label "Nigger" is almost never found in print, even the word "Negro" is used infrequently; it was replaced by the words “black” or “African American”, but this does not change the essence of the created stereotype, anti-communist stereotypes.

Anti-communism is an integral feature of the capitalist way of life. The fabrication of anti-communist stereotypes and their strengthening in the minds of people is promoted by the

bourgeois mass media. The essence of socialism, its appearance is distorted by bourgeois propaganda beyond recognition - it is unprofitable for it to give a true idea of the system that capitalism denies.

The concept of "communism" by the efforts of the bourgeois press, radio, television is so falsified that it has become for the layman the designation of everything that threatens him, contradicts his life principles. For years, bourgeois propaganda has created a false, caricatured image of the Communists. Many misfortunes and difficulties experienced by the capitalist countries were due to the intrigues of the communists. Even the authors of the book "The Anatomy of Anti-Communism" published in the United States, criticizing the policy of anti-communism from bourgeois-liberal positions, emphasize that in America "the word "communist" has become a club for beating everyone who does not like it, and, of course, those who stand for any change in the status quo.

The beginning of the formation of anti-communist stereotypes was laid by the bourgeois press after K. Marx and F. Engels developed their doctrine of communism. After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a distorted image of the socialist revolution, the Soviet country began to form in the world of capital, fabricated stereotypes appeared that distorted the essence of socialism.

The bourgeois press excelled in gloomy prophecies about the future of our country, repeatedly predicted the death of Soviet power, created a negative, frightening image of the Bolshevik - "a bearded scoundrel in peasant robes, carrying a bomb."

Russia, Russians appeared in the test materials and caricatures of the bourgeois press in the form of a bear. “The Russian bear is coming again,” the Reader's Digest intimidated the

townsfolk, when the Soviet economy was successfully gaining momentum and the USSR entered the world market.

The falsity, the inconsistency with reality of the stereotype of the Russian was proved by S. Rice's studies of the student audience at Princeton University back in 1924. Students were given photographs of 9 statesmen and public figures - US senators, trade union leaders and the Soviet diplomat Krasin - and were asked to determine "who is who." 59 people called Krasin an American senator and only 9 called him a Bolshevik.

As the power and authority of the Soviet Union grew, the tactics of some capitalist countries towards it changed. During the Second World War, more or less favorable articles about the USSR appeared in the press of the countries allies of the USSR in the anti-Hitler coalition - the USA, England, France, under the influence of the courageous struggle of the Soviet people against fascism, the heroic victories of the Soviet Army.

But after the war, imperialism unleashed the "cold war" as a reaction to the growing influence of the communists, and bourgeois propaganda, fully supporting the policies of their governments, actively joined in the persecution of the communists, in the fabrication of false ideas about the USSR, spreading fabrications about its "aggressive plans", the desire to "to world domination", introducing into the minds of people the absurd stereotypes of the "cold war" - "Soviet threat", "iron curtain", "Moscow's hand", etc.

The tone in such propaganda was set by the American bourgeois press. During the years of McCarthyism, the right-wing press was Luce's magazines, Hearst's newspapers, New York Daily News:. etc. -supported the "witch hunt", the persecution of the communists. She stuck the labels "red", "subversive element", "agent of Moscow" not only on progressive figures, but also on liberal, democratic-minded

people. Even some liberal journalists from the Nation and the New York Post fell into the category of "Reds".

Anti-communist stereotypes are clothed in the bourgeois press, especially in the mass media, in the form of moral concepts. The fight against communism is misinterpreted as a fight between good and evil. “Communism stubbornly clings to the bad. Let's persevere in the good" - this is an example of the attitude towards communism formed by the mass press, which was expressed in the words of J. Foster Dulles, an ardent reactionary, champion of the Cold War.

Bourgeois propaganda has developed a whole system of anti-communist stereotypes as one of the ways to defend the domination of capital. They are contrasted with attractive concepts, symbols that portray the face of the capitalist world in a favorable light, evoking benevolent emotions.

The American journalist R. Sollen wrote in Editor II Publisher, a newspaper business organ, that US press correspondents “created a whole series of clichés, slogans, epithets, short but vague phrases” with which to describe any international news. At the same time, they "quite satisfy the requests of their bureau chiefs and pay tribute to the praise of the United States."

Sollen cites the following as especially well-worn expressions: free world, iron curtain, national defense, communist threat, national security, appeasement, anti-American, subversive, leftist, etc. All these clichés help to present any international event, regardless of its essence in the spirit of the Cold War.

Bourgeois propaganda is defending the aggressive foreign policy of its states under the flag of anti-communism, the fight against the "communist threat".

Thus, the conservative and reactionary American press justified the US aggression in Indochina by the need to "protect the world from communism." Some liberal press outlets, notably the New York Times and the CBS television network, have criticized the Saigon regime and the US government's methods of warfare, causing conflicts between the administration and the media.

But in general, the position of the critics of the Vietnam War was inconsistent and limited. As J. Aronson emphasized in the book “News Packaging. Critical review of the press, radio, and television ”, none of these critics believed that the presence of the American military in Vietnam and throughout Southeast Asia was a huge evil, no one advocated the immediate withdrawal of American troops, that is, in fact, they justified aggression.

Bourgeois propaganda, seeking in every possible way to compromise the communist movement, to distort the goals and objectives of the communists, mixes their activities with the actions of various ultra-left groups - anarchists, etc., uniting them and sticking a single label - "extremists".

For example, the Springer press in the FRG declared the terrorist actions of the leftist anarchist Baalra-Meinhoff group “marginal terror and demanded an end to the connivance of communism, to take emergency measures, to crack down on the “red bandits”, although it is well known that the progressive public of the FRG, and above all the German the Communist Party, in the most decisive way, dissociates itself from the anarchists, qualifying their actions as provocative.

Stereotypes of the Cold War. sowed enmity and discord among peoples. Bourgeois propaganda preaching absurd ideas about communism, the USSR has done great harm to humanity. The destruction of negative stereotypes about

Russians as ignorant people, aggressive "bears" was facilitated by the successes of the Soviet Union in the economy, science, culture, space exploration, and the ever-widening spread of the ideas of communism in the world.

But people in the West still have quite a few prejudices, prejudices inspired by the press during the Cold War period: ... The Portuguese writer M. Kashtrin cites in Pravda an excerpt from a conversation between his friend and an elderly man in the vicinity of the university center of Coimbra.

This person asked: “Here we talk a lot about the Iron Curtain. It must be very heavy. It is, after all, made of iron. I would like to know how the Russians raise and lower it - whether with a simple hand winch, or they have a special mechanism. This is not a joke, but a fact. This is the result of the systematic indoctrination of absurd anti-Soviet stereotypes by bourgeois propaganda. Forced to adapt to new historical conditions, anti-communist propaganda is becoming more sophisticated, trying to act under the guise of "objectivity", to improve its methods and methods without changing the general strategic direction. In the arsenal of means of the bourgeois press for the formation of anti-communist stereotypes is not just labeling, but the use of a system of argumentation, the use of individual real facts, statistical calculations, materials from the Soviet press and the press of other socialist countries.

However, the real facts are interpreted by bourgeois propaganda tendentiously, arbitrarily, which ultimately means their falsification.

As a result of the consistent peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, in the early 1970s the world turned from the Cold War to peace. But the activity of the opponents of peace - the military-industrial complex, the Zionist circles - also increased. The right-wing American

press, conservative English publications, the reactionary press of Springer, right-wing newspapers and magazines in France became propagandists of the conjectures of the opponents of peace.

In their attempts to thwart détente, they use propaganda stereotypes worn out since the Cold War. In addition to the old cliches, in particular about the "Soviet threat", these publications fabricate new stereotypes that distort the essence of peace. Like the previous ones, they have an anti-Soviet, anti-communist character.

Bourgeois propaganda sows doubts about the need for peace, writes about its illusory nature and danger. “A fashionable but dangerous word” is a statement by the adversary of peace, a NATO admiral, that Time put in the title of one of its articles. Why is discharge dangerous? It turns out that, according to the statements of the military, politicians of the capitalist countries, it "benefits only the Russians." A new stereotype was invented, but again with false content - "peace is a one-way street." For example, the United States News and World Report advised the government to reconsider its policy of détente, since détente sleep practice is a one-way street and Moscow enjoys all its benefits. "Reader's Digest" in the article "Is this a peace?" through the mouth of former Minister of Defense M. Laird, he declared that peace is "a one-way road leading to the destruction of Western democracy and the imposition of their (Russian. -GG) systems on the world."

The fact that peace is only a tactic of the Russians, that it is a deceit, a trap, a trap, is constantly repeated by the English Daily Telegraph, Springer's Welt.

The arguments of the defenders of such misconceptions about peace are untenable. It is argued that cooperation with the USSR is a one-sided transfer of technology, scientific

achievements to it, that trade with the Russians only contributes to strengthening their power and weakening the West. These allegations are refuted. representatives of bourgeois business circles themselves, prominent politicians who emphasize the mutual benefit and prospects of cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Another favorite argument of bourgeois propaganda, which supports the distorted idea of peace, is the assertion that the Soviet Union, allegedly under the cover of peace, is “strives for world domination”, is fighting for the victory of communism on a world scale, and does not stop the ideological struggle. "Time", for example, distorting the words of L. I. Brezhnev at the XXV Congress of the CPSU about the support of the Soviet Union for the national liberation movement, stated that "the Soviets are ready to intervene almost everywhere in the world if revolutionary consciousness and communist convictions so require."

On March 1, 1976, Newsweek cited the famous ideologist of anti-communism, Professor R. Pipes of Harvard University: "The goal of the Soviets is world domination."

The conviction of the communists in the victory of communism is presented by bourgeois publications as an imposition of it. As you know, the communists have always opposed and continue to oppose the export of the revolution, and the ideological struggle is considered a form of class struggle and will be waged as long as capitalism exists.

Bourgeois propaganda claims that peace is illusory is connected with a new wave of intimidation by the "Soviet threat". This propaganda stamp is used in various situations, for various reasons. The right-wing press in the United States and France, the conservative publications in England, and the Springer press in the FRG are especially zealous in injecting

the “Soviet threat,” aligning themselves in their speeches with the Pentagon, NATO headquarters, and the head of the West German ultra F.-J. Strauss, the leader of the British Conservatives M. Thatcher. It is characteristic that conjectures about the "Soviet threat" appear simultaneously in the bourgeois press of many capitalist countries as if on cue. The ardent anti-communist, anti-Soviet Lord Chalfont repeatedly spoke at the meetings of the Times with absurd allegations about a military invasion of the Soviet Union allegedly threatening Western Europe.

The bourgeois press inflates the myth of the militarization of the USSR and serves as a tribune for the belligerent actions of high-ranking military officials demanding an intensification of the arms race under the pretext of the "Soviet threat". In an interview with Newsweek magazine on February 9, 1976, US General Haig, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces of NATO, declared that "the threat to the West from the Soviet Union is now greater than at any time since the end of the Second World War.

In the United States, the propaganda stereotype of the "Soviet threat" was especially intensively exaggerated by the press during the period when the Pentagon budget was approved in Congress and the presidential election campaign. Right-wing journals lend their pages to the militant rhetoric of reactionary politicians and generals.

In particular, on December 22, 1975, in an interview with the United States News and World Report, former US Secretary of Defense J. Schlesinger stated that the Russians were pursuing offensive goals, seeking to dismember Western Europe and achieve hegemony, and urged the Americans to "keep a good deal of theirs." An interview with former U.S. Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld in the same magazine was titled "You Can't Trust Russia at All" and referred to the "Soviet military threat."

Time slanderously stated that “Moscow never hesitates between sword and plow and always chooses the sword. The spirit of détente does not violate Soviet military construction. The press cited data fabricated by the CIA on Soviet armaments in comparison with the American ones, and it was argued that the USSR was superior in many types of weapons to the United States. Even American politicians themselves spoke about the falsity of these messages.

Senator W. Proxmire and Congressman L. Espin, with facts in hand, proved the falsity of the calculations of the CIA and the Pentagon, showing "Soviet aggressiveness." The purpose of planting a propaganda stereotype about the "Soviet threat" is to intimidate the peoples of the world, persuade them to support an increase in military budgets, justify the need for an arms race, which, of course, will benefit not workers, but military corporations.

The peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, their proposals aimed at deepening peace and strengthening cooperation in Europe and throughout the world are weighty arguments that smash the false anti-communist and anti-Soviet stereotypes of bourgeois propaganda. The capitalist press, planting false anti-Soviet stereotypes, does not reflect the opinions of the peoples of their countries. Its attempts to distort the essence of peace, to return the world to the times of the Cold War, are doomed to failure.

Stereotyping is inherent in advertising. Advertising in the press, on radio, and television has become an instrument of propaganda influence, part of an ideological offensive against the masses, a means of forming false, illusory ideas about life in a capitalist society. Planting the stereotype of a person-acquirer, the owner of things that symbolize his wealth and prosperity, is a characteristic feature of advertising in

bourgeois publications, especially mass ones. Creating in the interests of the ruling class false "images" of things and personalities, propagating "equality of people in the sphere of consumption", fueling the desire of the layman to keep up with fashion, the mass press forms stereotypical interests, tastes, and thereby contributes to the ideological education of readers.

Stereotyping is subject not only to textual material, but also to illustrative material. Illustrations in bourgeois journalism are a way of creating and introducing into the minds of readers illusory, false ideas about reality. In the photographic information of bourgeois publications, there are certain propaganda clichés designed for emotional impact. The standard has been developed in the design of the cover of many types of mass magazines - these are expressive photographs, portraits of bourgeois politicians, movie stars, television, stage, sports. Photo stamps depicting the hero of the apologetic materials at work, with his family, on vacation, create the illusion of his prosperity. At the same time, if a photograph is printed depicting a communist leader or a progressive public figure, then there is a stereotype here - an unsuccessful angle that contributes to the image of the face in an unfavorable light; the lens captures anything that deliberately reduces the image. If a photograph captures life in the countries of socialism, then in most cases objects for filming are chosen that reflect not the achievements of socialist society, but its shortcomings - say, not new buildings, new residential buildings, but wrecked on the outskirts, subject to demolition.

In the practice of bourgeois journalism, drawn stereotypes are used, in particular, national symbols - Uncle Sam (USA), British lion (England), Russian bear; especially often they are reflected in cartoons designed to evoke a reaction of approval

or disapproval in comics. “Comics successfully form attitudes towards many facts of modern political reality, including communism, its ideology, and its practical implementation in communist construction.

Comics are a typical form of tabloid print. They influence the reader in bourgeois society from early childhood and throughout his life. Comics have become a means of defending the capitalist system and propagating anti-communism, racism, and militarism. They are built on primitive stereotypes and contribute to the formation of false, absurd ideas, in particular about communism.

The stereotypes of the bourgeois press are also expressed in verbal clichés. Language in the process of stereotyping carries a great propaganda burden. With its help, an emotional, negative, or positive attitude towards an object or phenomenon is formed. Thus, stereotyping in the bourgeois press leads to standardization of information, misinformation of readers, and manipulation of public opinion in the interests of the ruling class.

The change in the balance of forces in the world in favor of socialism and progress, the crisis state of capitalism, the growth of the class consciousness of the working people in the capitalist countries, the ever-wider dissemination of the ideas of communism contribute to the collapse of the false, illusory stereotypes planted by bourgeois propaganda.

Techniques and methods for interpreting information and bourgeois propaganda

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Sensation and sensationalism

The sensation is by no means an invention of the modern press; moreover, it appeared in printed form much earlier than newspapers were born. So, when there was still a century and a half left before the publication of the first newspaper in France, where the newspaper business has a very rich history, separate sheets were already being sold in the country, on which news about the most significant events were printed.

The first such leaflet, noted by historians, appeared in 1488. It outlined the circumstances of the capture of Mr. Fougeres by French troops, which meant the end of the independence of the Breton kingdoms. Judging by the nature of the execution, these leaflets were intended for a relatively general public.

The illustrations accompanying the text were more often than not too far from being able to directly comment on it. The main advantage of the leaflets was that they were ahead of oral information.

The publication of such leaflets continued until the beginning of the 16th century with a predominant emphasis on novelty and with a gradual expansion of topics from military news to catastrophic natural phenomena (earthquakes, floods, drought, etc.).

Leaflets describing fantastic phenomena, as well as rumors about monstrous animals, birds, snakes, etc., became more and more widespread. By the beginning of the 18th century, these news were divided into two types: brochures of 12-16 pages and separate sheets, still printed on one side of the paper. The former subsequently turn into newspapers, while the latter, retaining their former form, specialize in reports of a sensational nature. However, newspapers soon notice that they have lost something attractive to readers to the sheets, and already “La Gazette” Renaudot begins to issue special

issues with increased circulation, which were called “extraordinary”.

And at the beginning of the XIX century they get the name "ducks". This word in French has long had the meaning of a ridiculous story, which is designed for gullible listeners in order to make fun of them. Characteristic is its definition, referring to the second half of the 19th century, given by Larousse: “The word “duck” was assigned exclusively to news that was born in the imagination of scribbled journalists, as if trying to limit how far the reader’s trust extends.”

"Ducks" began to be called both individual sheets and some parts in newspapers, as well as entire newspapers that specialized in materials of a similar nature. "Duck" could be news sometimes true, but always exaggerated, most often completely false.

However, even today, for many readers and even journalists, the closest synonym for sensation is the newspaper "duck", because the modern bourgeois press has adopted, first of all, its qualities such as loudness and deceit. This, apparently, also explains the general negative-ironic tone of numerous statements and remarks addressed to the sensation.

What is a sensation and what can be seen as its rational grain? According to the dispassionate definition of specialists, a sensation is an event that causes excitement, wide interest, and also the impression made by this event. Therefore, a message about such an event will be sensational in the journalistic sense of the word.

The question is what event should be considered of wide interest, capable of causing excitement, and, finally, what should be the form of this message so that the impression of the event corresponds to its actual meaning.

Based on the above definition, it is legitimate to single out the type of sensation that can be called pleasant. It will be an objective report of an event that really has a wide interest and makes an impression corresponding to its true content. Many achievements in space exploration have undoubtedly been and are sensational. Reports about them were sensational in the most positive sense. Enthusiastic tones and superlatives were appropriate here, large headlines and large photographs were justified, for the grandeur of the events was undeniable. And although Soviet journalists do not willingly resort to this word when talking about their work, nevertheless, these were real sensations in our press.

However, not so significant events cause sensations. For example, five twins are born in a family at once, an athlete sets a phenomenal world record, a species of fish hitherto unknown to science is discovered in the ocean - all these reports taken from newspapers are not so large in scale, the circle of people on whom they produce is not very wide. a strong impression, and yet it is a sensation. They are united by one feature - the exclusivity, the uniqueness of what is described.

It is these events that make up most of the sensational materials in the press, because events of a global scale are much rarer. In addition, a kind of devaluation of the sensation is taking place: what yesterday still aroused exceptional interest, around which passions were seething, today surprises few. A sensation should be relevant, modern, sometimes strive to overtake the time.

The weekly "Abroad" once placed photographs of the first English newspapers with yard-long headlines: "The pound sterling is going to hell!," The pound sterling falls to a record low! “Such newspaper headlines,” the magazine comments, “have long ceased to be a sensation for the British.”

Indeed, today you need to thoroughly delve into the events of the day in order to present something extremely interesting to the reader.

In their daily search for sensationalism, bourgeois journalists most often replace significant, topical events with piquant, scandalous stories, usually associated with murders, thefts, financial fraud, and other attributes of capitalist civilization.

This is how a type of sensation is born in the bourgeois press, calculated on an unhealthy interest, on idle curiosity; the excitement caused by them is based not on the comprehension of the fact, but on the emotional perception. In order to give an ordinary, insignificant event a sensational character, the bourgeois press inflates its scale, artificially dramatizes what happened, and distorts its true meaning. Sensation, thus, turns into sensationalism - a characteristic feature inherent in bourgeois journalism.

The most common form of such a sensation is a flashy headline on the front page of a newspaper or on the cover of a magazine, occupying almost their entire area. It is, both in style and in appearance, the "ordinary dish" of the mass bourgeois press. Here are some examples from American newspapers; "Gambling Den Exposed" (Buffalo Evening News, September 25, 1976), "25 Dead in Bronx Fire" (St. Petersburg Times, October 25, 1976), "Downtown Police Accused of Corruption" (Boston Globe, Nov. 9, 1976), "Murder Charge Dropped" (Chicago Daily News, Nov. 12, 1976), "Gilmour Is Dead" - Material on the Execution of a Criminal (New York Post, Jan. 17 1977).

These headlines, taken from various newspapers, do not differ in the variety of subjects that is generally characteristic of sensational materials in any mass bourgeois publication. The work devoted to the most popular bourgeois magazine

Readers Digest highlights "the traditional topics of articles that are preceded by sensational headlines - gender relations, natural phenomena, natural disasters, health, violence, business": "How to live with a woman", "Death comes on two copes", "What Really Killed Marilyn Monroe", "All About Love", "Twenty Minutes of Horror", "Want to Make a Million Dollars?" etc.

The list of similar examples can be continued, taking them from such newspapers as the English Daily Mirror, the West German Bildzeipnr, the French France-Soir, and the like, but the thematic range of sensations will not expand in any significant way. It should also be noted that more often than not, the material itself located inside the issue does not correspond to the sensational character of the headline, the sensation seems to "fizzle out", because in reality we are talking about an ordinary fact from everyday capitalist reality.

In bourgeois propaganda, the practice is also widespread when, in the style and manner of traditional sensations, materials are presented about events that are quite serious, important, requiring a detailed presentation, analysis, commentary. The example may be conditional, but typical. A coup d'etat took place in one of the eastern countries. The bourgeois press did not mention this country for months, some readers had not heard anything about it before. And suddenly a sensation! Under large headlines, with illustrations, the details of the coup are reported: how many were killed and wounded, who was arrested, who was involved in the conspiracy, etc.

A wave of reports about this "shock event" without any internal connection, without an analysis of the causes, with a light commentary on the differences between the overthrown and the new regime - and after a day or two silence again, the country ceases to exist for the press, and the reader remains in

ignorance of what this country was like before the revolution, what were the causes and nature of it, what significance it might have for the rest of the world.

And here is a real example - the coverage by the American press of the presidential election campaign on the anniversary of the country's 200th anniversary.

This objectively serious political event took place to the sound of newspaper pipes, rattles, and drums, in tinsel of insignificant details, which, however, corresponded to the nature of the very procedure for nominating candidates and electing the President of the United States. Such materials to a certain extent depoliticized the event itself.

The damage to the reader is double. On the one hand, he was not given a general picture, he was distracted from important, contemporary events, since bourgeois propaganda seeks to keep them silent, based on its class interests, on the other hand, a correct idea about the events that were discussed, because the sensational message character relies on emotional perception, refers not to the mind of the reader, but to the "twilight sides" of his personality.

Sensations in the world of capital are carried away not by individual scribblers or some newspapers, but by all institutions on which the content of the information sections of the vast majority of propaganda organs depends, including the world's largest bourgeois news agencies.

The Belgian researcher of the bourgeois press R. Kloss, speaking of two needs that the mass information is called upon to satisfy, pointed out that one of them is the "disinterested psychosocial need" for sensational news.

Even if we assume that the press of the capitalist countries day by day “disinterestedly” stuffs the public with sensations in

order to satisfy this need, the pernicious, stupefying, disorienting role of sensation is still evident by virtue of the form that it has acquired on the pages of bourgeois newspapers and magazines.

Its bias is obvious. After all, to present any fact as a sensation means to distinguish it from a number of others, to recognize a certain significance for it, to attract special attention of the audience. Designed to lure the reader, to excite, dazzle and stun, the sensation may in some ways be comparable to advertising. Only it does not advertise goods and services, but facts, events, personalities, and sometimes the newspaper itself, its efficiency, resourcefulness, awareness, exclusivity. However, it is not only a matter of material gain. Sensationalism - one of the means to achieve political goals.

The choice of this or that event as the next sensation is politics. For example, if a communist is elected mayor of a large city in a capitalist country and on the same day the football team of this city defeats the national champion, then there is no doubt that the bourgeois newspaper will report the first event in a neutral tone, and the second as the sensation of the year. .

A large place in the pages of the bourgeois press is occupied by various types of anti-Soviet and anti-communist materials. Full of fabrications about the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, they are often presented as a sensation.

Many examples of this can be cited from any, not only mass, but also high-quality newspaper that claims to be serious and objective. Here is one example of such a publication in the French Le Figaro, which boasts of its solidity.

Reporting on the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU "On the further development of specialization and concentration of agricultural production on the basis of inter-

farm cooperation and agro-industrial integration" (1976), the newspaper places an article on the front page under the large headline "USSR: the end of the personal plot by decision of the Central Committee", In it, she pours out her sadness at the "disappearance of the last remnant of liberal agriculture".

Of course, this kind of lie, presented as a sensation, can only be calculated on a completely ignorant reader. Anyone familiar with the text of the resolution will immediately find that it does not contain a word about the liquidation of personal plots.

Suffice it to recall how for many years sensational reports about “flying saucers” as possible “Russian military targets” were used to inflate the myth of the “Soviet threat”, all sorts of unidentified marine objects were sensationally announced by Soviet submarines, on which round-ups were organized, quite in the spirit of the “ducks” of the 15th century. the modern bourgeois press fanned the sensation about a prehistoric monster supposedly living in the Scottish Loch Ness.

And even if we take into account that, from a scientific point of view, the question of its existence has not been finally resolved, it should still be noted that the next portion of "evidence" to support this hype appeared just during the periods of miners' strikes, rising inflation, housing crisis, in order to distract the reader from the serious life fragments that he faces daily in a capitalist society.

To stupefy the masses, the bourgeois press does not disdain any means. That is why her sensationalism is one of the most popular.

Half-Truth and insinuation

Half-truth and insinuation, as methods of bourgeois propaganda, are false argumentation with facts, their

manipulation within the material, and in some cases, the inadequacy of facts and arguments to conclusions. These two methods are also found in their pure form, but more often they are intertwined, passing one into the other.

The manipulation of facts within the material can take different forms: these are false conclusions from true facts, and mixing slander with the truth, and breaking temporal and logical connections between facts, presenting them in false relationships. Such methods of disinformation are widely used today in all types of bourgeois newspapers and magazines.

The bourgeois press, seeking to cover up its lies with an appearance of plausibility, sometimes, for the sake of one falsified phrase, piles up a large number of facts that have taken place. The use of materials that correspond to reality makes it difficult for the reader to identify fabrications.

“In the field of social phenomena,” wrote V.I. Elenin, “there is no method more widespread and no longer consistent, like snatching out individual facts, playing with examples. It is necessary to take not individual facts, but the totality of facts related to the issue under consideration, without a single exception, because otherwise there will inevitably arise a suspicion, and a completely legitimate suspicion, that the facts are chosen or chosen arbitrarily ... " *coll. v. 30, pp. 350-351.*

But the whole sum of facts, the whole truth of social development is unnecessary and even hostile to bourgeois propaganda, because, taken as a whole, they testify against capitalism as a system with no prospects and no future.

According to the most prominent theoretician of American propaganda, W. Lipman, “the modern theory of newspaper business in America is that such an abstraction as truth, and such a virtue as honesty, must be sacrificed when someone

thinks that this is required. the needs of civilization ... Modern journalism ... puts truth second only to what it understands to be the national interest."

In other words, the tendentiousness and mendacity of the bourgeois press is not only its practice, but also one of its theoretical postulates.

The half-truth method consists in mixing real facts with slander. Insinuation, according to the definition of N. I. Kondakov, is “slander, deliberate malicious fabrication with the aim of discrediting someone, malicious fiction.” But "sinuation differs from direct slander in that it is expressed in the form of a hint or in the form of mixing slander with the truth," which is already indicated by the very meaning of the Latin word "insinuatio" (smartness). According to one of the old definitions, insinuation is “a turn of speech in which something is suggested in the form of a soft, imperceptibly creeping into the minds of listeners, in order to avoid their displeasure.” However, this definition does not fit well with the modern bourgeois press since the insinuations in it are quite frank and rude.

Disinformation in its purest form, a newspaper "duck" - a device too primitive, even an inexperienced reader can expose it. At the same time, a dose of slander mixed with a true report can be taken on faith and assimilated along with it. True facts, especially if they were already known to the reader and he believed in them, as if create a credibility to all the rest of the material. However, the "credit of trust" in this case can be understood in a broader sense - as a predisposition of the reader, brought up in the spirit of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, to a positive perception of the facts that correspond to these ideological attitudes.

The reader, even if he realizes that he is dealing with misinformation, as a rule, it is difficult to judge at what stage of the preparation of the material its meaning is distorted, who exactly owns the far from honorable authorship of the fake - whether the journalist with his claim to objectivity and impartiality or the editor.

This newspaper business kitchen is hidden from prying eyes. And only very rarely do facts like the one that Martin E. Marty, referring to his journalist friend. During the Vietnam War, this journalist gave his editors a short information that 10 US Air Force aircraft made a sortie from Bangkok, and 9 returned to the base. The note was printed, but with one amendment: the air base in it was moved from Bangkok to . . . Saigon. The editors considered it best not to mention Thailand in this case, which then formally did not take part in the war. So a half-truth was born, and if we are not talking about propaganda methods and assessing the true meaning of this disinformation, then there is a direct lie about the true US policy in Southeast Asia.

Similar methods are used by American propagandists mainly in materials about the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist camp, the world communist movement, the détente of international tension, the limitation of strategic offensive weapons - in other words, in the propaganda of anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, the further arms market. And while half-truths about the internal or international politics of a particular capitalist state, as in the above episode, can sometimes be exposed to a wide audience, in most other cases it goes unnoticed. However, the episode referred to can hardly be called a real exposure: after all, the truth was not published in the same newspaper as a refutation, but made public in a rather narrow circle of mass communication specialists and made public in a book published for them.

Bourgeois science, placed at the service of politics, also sometimes provides material for disinformation in the big press. Thus, referring to a study conducted at the University of Michigan (such references create the appearance of objectivity and respectability, inspire confidence in the source of information), The New York Times writes that in the USSR and other countries of Eastern Europe “higher education .. .still largely reserved for the elite. The students come mainly from "establishment" families living in big cities. Rural youth, who are needed in the economy, are not encouraged by poorly educated parents to receive an education, and their theoretical training is insufficient for studying at the university. Yes, the level of preparation of students in rural schools is sometimes lower than in urban ones. Necessary measures are being taken in the country to solve this objective problem. The authors of the study, which claims to be "scientific", and after them the editors of the New York Times "forgot" even to mention the existence in the USSR of educational faculties at universities specifically for working and rural youth, about students - factory and collective farm scholarships, to write that higher education in the Soviet Union is free and that all citizens, regardless of social origin, have the right to it, as they have “forgotten” and that the “elites” and the system, where the majority of Soviet students supposedly come from, do not exists at all, so that, using these terms of bourgeois sociology to describe the Soviet way of life, the authors deliberately slander it.

Why is there such a heap of lies? To conclude: "Many young people with natural talent never get higher education, just like in Western countries"; in both bourgeois and socialist society there is a privileged elite; here and there it is difficult for young workers and peasants to obtain a higher education.”

Thus, we have two methods of insinuation at once: using one existing fact, bourgeois propagandists substantiate it with false theses and draw slanderous conclusions from it. Lies on an essentially local topic - education in the USSR - develop into slander against the entire socialist system and are used to defend the capitalist one. (…)

Whatever platforms the bourgeois journalists subsume for their writings, whatever freedoms, and rights they call themselves defenders, making such statements, they objectively play into the hands of the most right-wing circles of international reaction. And their terminology remains the same as during the Cold War, striking in its archaism, for example: "The Iron Curtain looks even more formidable than a few years ago."

Insinuation as a method of bourgeois propaganda is a continuation of insinuation as a method of bourgeois politics, and politics at the highest level. Materials of the bourgeois press on the topic of arms limitation and disarmament are usually based on intimidating the layman with a threat from outside, although it is officially recognized that there is parity between the USSR and the USA in the field of nuclear weapons, on the basis of which the current negotiations are being conducted, and a Provisional agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive arms. True, when the issue of the military budget and the need to “frighten” readers in connection with this in order to squeeze out new appropriations are not on the agenda, the American press happens to admit that the United States is not so helpless in the face of the “Soviet threat” . In particular, Newsweek magazine reported that the Pentagon is developing a new and improved missile defense system. But even here there were some insinuations.

It turns out that the development is connected with new assumptions that “Russia is moving far ahead of the United States in terms of nuclear power: .. The system itself is not designed to defend against a possible enemy in general, but to “repel the first strike from the USSR” and is built based on “ 30-minute flight time of Soviet missiles.

Thus, a rather calm note in tone, devoid of direct slanderous attacks on the USSR, nevertheless contains a false allusion and objectively serves to whip up military hysteria, creating an atmosphere of distrust in the Soviet Union as a potential adversary.

Trying, contrary to the truth, contrary to the irresistible tendency of historical development, to resurrect their own long-obsolete theories and theories, bourgeois propagandists at the same time declare obsolete the really living, truly scientific theory of social development - Marxism-Leninism. 60 years ago they proclaimed the death of the Soviet country, now they are proclaiming the death of scientific communism.

The editor-in-chief of the Italian Stampa, A. Levy, in an article published by the American magazine Newsweek under the meaningful heading "Requiem for an Ideology," announced, as many others had done before him, that "communism as a universal ideology is dead. Communism, like the church, is a memory of the past; it is more of a habit than a belief."

Unable to refute the living reality of scientific communism, whose ideas are embodied in the USSR and other socialist countries, the authors of such insinuations are trying to "bury" the communist ideology. The very use of religious terms should create the impression that we are talking about something old-fashioned and obsolete. In reality, there is not a single movement in the world as vibrant, massive, and united as the communist one. Communism, unlike bourgeois

concepts with their helpless argumentation, never demanded faith from its adherents, but always conviction.

In the struggle against the communist movement, bourgeois propaganda places its main stake on undermining the unity of the communist and workers' parties, trying to slander the CPSU and oppose it to other parties.

In the struggle against the communist movement, bourgeois propaganda places its main stake on undermining the unity of the communist and workers' parties…(…)

The well-known American journalist, columnist for The New York Times, D. Reston, in his correspondence "Castro on the Road" quite seriously and clearly spoke about the successes of the Cuban people in the socialist transformation of the republic, but in the end, speaking about the assistance of the Soviet Union to Cuba, he could not resist from the insinuation: "With the development of closer ties between the United States and the USSR, there is always the possibility that this subsidy may one day be reduced or even discontinued", hinting that assistance from the USSR is supposedly a tactical maneuver carried out not so much for the sake of supporting socialist Cuba, but against the USA. The purpose of such insinuations is **to sow discord among the socialist countries.** (…)

Summing up, we can single out the following methods of insinuation and half-truth in bourgeois propaganda: a mixture of facts and slander that took place; adding a false fact (sometimes just a word) or a false allusion to a message containing mostly real facts; violation of logical connections between facts; substantiation of the thesis by false arguments; false conclusions from true facts; compositional completion of a newspaper page, where a certain combination of materials

and headings can also perform the functions of disinformation.

The method of defamation adjoins the methods of half-truth and insinuation. Defamation in jurisprudence involves the disclosure of information discrediting someone that corresponds to the truth.

This method of bourgeois propaganda is, strictly speaking, one of the varieties of the half-truth method. Operating with real facts, bourgeois journalists place them in a context in which their true meaning is distorted and excessively exaggerated. Defamation is often used in the internal political struggle of bourgeois countries as a means of discrediting an opponent and taking him out of the game.

An example of this is the "case" of Senator E. Kennedy, inflated by the US media, who got into a car accident with his secretary, as a result of which the girl died. For the bourgeois press, this fact was important, and by no means the clarification of what actually happened. The political opponents of the Kennedy clan sought, first of all, to compromise the senator, who was distinguished by liberal views, in order to deprive him of political authority.

Even more often, the defamation method is used in materials about the life of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Speculating on the facts that have taken place, bourgeois journalists present them in such a way that private questions grow almost into global problems.

The goal is to fool the reader, to make him forget about the truly gigantic achievements of the Soviet country.

The fact that the capitalist press in its practice not only does not shy away from such dirty methods as insinuation, half-truth, defamation, but also uses them more and more

intensively, testifies to the ever-growing crisis of bourgeois ideology and propaganda.

Statistics in the Bourgeois press

Among the quite numerous methods of bourgeois journalism aimed at concealing the propagandistic nature of its materials, its manipulation of public consciousness, the publication of statistical information occupies a special place. Statistical data look as objective and strict facts as possible. The language of numbers always seems convincing, creates an aura of undeniable authority.

Therefore, it is no coincidence that the publication of statistical information is a favorite method of bourgeois propaganda. Even at the beginning of the twentieth century. The American statistician Bliss wrote: "The most effective way to hide the truth is to hide it under a statistical table, use the statistical method and base false arguments on countless and confused rows of statistical figures that claim to be authoritative and indisputable."

The falsification of statistics is one of the types of ideological weapons for the bourgeoisie. Disclosing the techniques and methods of manipulating statistical data in the capitalist press is of great importance for revealing the strategy and tactics of the bourgeoisie in the ideological struggle.

The official bodies of statistics in the capitalist countries are part of the bourgeois state apparatus. With regard to purely quantitative indicators of production and circulation (for example, the volume of iron smelting or electric power production, the length of transport routes, the turnover of individual goods, etc.), bourgeois statistics, as a rule, provide accurate information. The **situation changes dramatically** when it comes to the most important social phenomena and

processes connected with the very essence of bourgeois society.

In these cases, the interests of capital require the veiling and distortion of the real state of affairs. The falsifying nature of bourgeois statistics is especially pronounced in those areas where class antagonism is most prominent and naked (unemployment, wages, monopoly profits, income distribution, standard of living, etc.).

It was socio-economic statistics that V. I. Lenin described as “one of the most powerful tools of social cognition ...” . The founders of Marxism-Leninism attached exceptionally great importance to statistics, systematically studied statistical materials, widely used them in their works, because the study of the totality of facts, taking into account all trends and diversity of forms, makes it possible to give an objective picture of social life, to establish the laws of its development.

The classics of Marxism repeatedly drew attention to the falsifying character of bourgeois statistics. In the preface to the first edition of Capital, K. Marx, speaking of the social statistics of a number of Western European countries, wrote that they cover "eyes and ears with a cap of invisibility in order to be able to deny the very existence of monsters."

V. I. Lenin spoke of the statistics of the capitalist countries as being "permeated through and through with bourgeois views and prejudices ...". *coll. vol. 27, p. 208.*

With the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, the falsifying methods of bourgeois statistics became more sophisticated and refined.

Monopoly capital needs a statistical apparatus that would carefully mask the essence of imperialism and signal the

dangers threatening capitalism on the fronts of the class struggle.

A significant role in this is assigned to the mass media, which not only deliver to the reader data already falsified by the bourgeois statistical apparatus, but also often deepen their falsification to please the ruling classes, collect and process many statistical data.

The organization of the collection of statistical data is built in such a way as to ensure the distortion of the truth in advance, to prepare the results necessary for capital.

F. Engels also wrote: "We know too well the bureaucratic pattern: they send out forms and are satisfied if they return filled in one way or another; for the information on the basis of which these forms are filled out, too often they turn to those in whose interests it is to hide the truth. " *Soch., vol. 16, pp. 237-238.*

This character of the collection of statistical material in the capitalist countries differs little in our time. In the works of V. I. Lenin, along with criticism of the theoretical foundations and methodological principles of bourgeois statistics, considerable attention is paid to a critical analysis of the organization of its practice. In most capital countries, there are central government statistical offices, but they do not integrate all the country's statistics and often play the role of a supervisory body. A number of other government departments also deal with statistics. In addition to the official ones, which are dispersed among individual departments, there are various private, monopoly-owned, bourgeois statistical organizations.

Official government statistics make extensive use of data from private bodies. As a result, discord prevails, the figures suffer from incompleteness, methodologically they are not linked to

each other, so they are difficult to compare. Business owners hide many important data, referring to the so-called trade secret.

But if the statistics of the capitalist countries are far from a system of unified centralized and scientifically objective accounting, then, while obeying the interests of the monopolies, it is united in the performance of the function that consists in obscuring the contradictions of capitalist reality in the interests of the ruling financial oligarchy.

Already at the initial stage - the stage of collecting statistical information, they can be falsified due to the unreliability of information sources, as well as false representativeness. But the distorted figures are presented with ostentatious accuracy in order to give them maximum credibility. In this, bourgeois statistics are greatly assisted by the mass media and propaganda. It is they who, filling their pages and hours of broadcasting with outwardly indisputable and authoritative facts received from the apparatus of bourgeois statistics, dissect them in accordance with the social order of their masters, give a false picture of the social and economic structure of society and try in this way to influence the consciousness of their readers and listeners. (…)

One of the most common methods of manipulating statistical information in the bourgeois press is the direct suppression of information, the dissemination of which is not beneficial to the ruling circles. (…)

Fulfilling the social order of the bourgeoisie, the media use rigged and outright falsified figures to mask the progressive relative and absolute impoverishment of the working class, which is an inevitable consequence of the development of capitalism.

This feature of bourgeois statistics was emphasized by K. Marx, who pointed out that "official statistics more and more distort the real dimensions of pauperism as the class struggle develops with the accumulation of capital, and therefore the self-consciousness of the workers." *Works, vol. 23, page 668.*

False figures about the condition of the working people are presented on the pages of bourgeois publications in a form that looks accurate. But this "scrupulousness" conceals deceit in order to mislead the broad masses of readers. Thus, figures of unemployment published in the press and broadcast over the radio, at best, cover only separate groups of workers, not at all taking into account those who work not every week, young people who have completed their studies and have not entered production. Usually, when it comes to those receiving unemployment benefits, only the registered unemployed are given figures, while the vast majority of the unemployed do not receive any benefits.

The mass media that support certain groups of the bourgeoisie willingly publish any statistical information that presents in a favorable light the activities of this or that party, coalition, not in the least caring about the correspondence of these data to reality, and often and deliberately give deliberately incorrect figures. (…)

Various methods of juggling facts are especially widely practiced in the world of capital when publishing wage statistics. In order to prove that the nominal and especially the real wages of workers are high enough, bourgeois statistics, and after them the bourgeois press, along with false indicators of the so-called average money wages, which greatly exaggerate the actual wages of workers, cite falsified indices of the cost of living, significantly underestimate the rise in the price level.

The real wage index in capitalist countries is calculated by dividing the so-called wages of employed workers by the cost of living index, which is sometimes called the cost of living index or the high cost index. The interest of the bourgeoisie is that cost-of-living indices underestimate the increase in the cost of living and thus do not give a correct picture of the fall in real wages. (…)

Exposing the propaganda methods of the bourgeois media, the press of the communist parties emphasizes that unemployment, inflation, and the rising cost of living should be fought not through statistical manipulations, but by a decisive attack on the policy of monopolies, limiting the super profits of industrial and financial corporations.

The bourgeois press also displays a natural predilection for the publication of summary or generalizing indicators of the economy. These data include, first of all, the national income figures provided by bourgeois statistics with an accuracy almost to the last dollar or pound sterling. The question of the social class character of the distribution of the national income is completely ignored. The falsifying methods are aimed at one goal: to exaggerate the share of the national income that goes to the working people, to underestimate the lion's share appropriated by the capitalists.

The statistics of the national income of the capitalist countries include in the incomes of the working people ever-increasing taxes levied on the wages of workers and employees and on the incomes of the working peasantry. As a result of these manipulations, the share of the working class in the national income is greatly exaggerated.

But the data on the national income, its distribution and use are a vivid and clear illustration of the operation of the basic economic law of one or another mode of production.

V. I. Lenin wrote in 1914, regarding the distribution of income in the USA, that half of the social income “is taken by the capitalist class, which, with all its defenders and protectors, is only one tenth of the population.” *Vol. 24, p. 272.*

The mass media and propaganda of the capitalist countries abound in averages. Calculated without comprehensive scientific analysis, they do not reflect the real state of affairs and are used as a means of falsification to embellish the position of the workers. Here they are juggling both general average data on food consumption and figures of average per capita income, and these figures are made up of the fabulous profits of billionaires, from the wages of workers and meager benefits for the unemployed.

V. I. Lenin, exposing the apologetic nature of the use of the method of averages by bourgeois statistics in order to obscure the sharpest class contradictions in the world of capital, wrote: "moderate" net income ... But such an average is completely fictitious. *v. 3, pp. 145-146.*

These remarks by V. I. Lenin have not lost their significance for modern bourgeois statistics, which strives to put "workers and owners into one whole", "to operate on a common average." A favorite topic of the bourgeois press is to talk about the income of the "average" American or the statistical "average" Englishman.

The bourgeois press, which makes extensive use of statistics to mask class contradictions, is replete with all sorts of comparisons. At the same time, it very often shows complete arbitrariness in choosing the starting base for comparison. So, for example, when calculating time series designed to characterize changes in the economic situation depending on the goal set by the interested capitalist enterprises, the lowest, then the highest point of the economic cycle is chosen as a

base, as a result, the level achieved for a given year turns out to be lower or above the actual level. (…)

In order to obscure the contradictions of capitalism, the grouping method is also used, ignoring the need for a scientific approach to the choice of a “grouping” attribute.

It is well known that the growth of high prices has recently reached enormous proportions in all capitalist countries. This fact is also acknowledged by the bourgeois press, but it strives to belittle it. the size of the increase in prices and the cost of living, publishing data falsified by bourgeois statistics.

When calculating the cost of living indices, the scientific approach to the grouping method is violated. Quite often, the set of goods and services allegedly corresponding to the consumption of workers at a given time does not include many consumer goods, the prices of which are rapidly rising.

The bourgeois press uses statistics as a weapon by publishing the data of various public opinion polls.

Newspapers are especially full of reports about soundings of public opinion during the period of election campaigns, when polls are conducted on the orders of the candidates themselves, various "interest groups", as well as newspapers, magazines, and television. During this period, and specialized institutions, and private organizations, and individuals work with the greatest load. Poll results are studied, carefully analyzed, and then, depending on what the figures say, they are published by some press organs, while others are hushed up. It has long been known that survey data in bourgeois countries do not stand up to scrutiny due to the dishonesty of the interviewers, the possibility of fairly significant deviations in one direction or another, deliberate juggling of numbers, predeterminedness and bias. The manipulation of the data of

soundings of public opinion in the media and propaganda is already political in nature. (…)

Many organs of the bourgeois press follow the lead of arms manufacturers and militaristic circles. In order to somehow justify the arms race, they are sounding the alarm, reporting "the latest information" about the "Soviet military threat." And although in the presence of the well-known Soviet-American agreements and the Vladivostok agreement, which fixed the principle of equality in strategic weapons and equal security of the two countries, it becomes increasingly difficult to manipulate digital data on inequality in the field of weapons systems, the stereotype of the "Soviet threat" is annoyingly imposed on the mass reader, confirmed by fabricated CIA statistics. (…)

The use of statistical data to transfer the discussion of the problems of military peace and disarmament from the POLITICAL PLANE to the military-technical PLANE is also a kind of trick of the opponents of peace and disarmament. The bourgeois mass media and propaganda impose propagandistic stereotypes on public opinion, which contribute to fanning the arms race. (…)

The role of statistics in bourgeois society is thus reduced to masking the true reality, glossing over antagonistic contradictions, and defending the capitalist system. This sharp weapon of the class struggle, that is, the struggle between capital and labor, is actively used by the bourgeois press in defending the interests of big capital.

Methods of argumentation in the bourgeois mass press

"Argumentation to the public" as a means of influencing the audience

The main content of bourgeois propaganda aimed at a mass audience - counteracting the spread of advanced ideas and the formation of a class consciousness of the working people - takes various forms depending on the orientation towards audiences with different socio-psychological characteristics.

This orientation determines the methods, techniques, and forms of propaganda, differentiated taking into account the audience and propaganda goals of this media and propaganda… An important role in keeping the masses under the ideological and political control of the ruling class of Great Britain is played by the mass press, which is published in large numbers and is a powerful means of manipulating public consciousness, spreading bourgeois ideas in a class hostile to the bourgeoisie. (…)

The disinterest of the ruling class in educating the working people and the desire to keep them under ideological and political control lead mass newspapers to resort to suggestion as the main method of bringing information and commentary to the minds of readers, because suggestion, unlike persuasion, is addressed "not to logic and reason". personality, not to its readiness to think and reason, but to its readiness to receive an order, an instruction for action.

In this regard, suggestion is based on the use of emotional channels of influence and does not need a system of logical evidence, since it appeals primarily to the feelings and emotions of the individual and the team and does not imply a deep awareness of the information being communicated.

The problem of the influence of suggestion on the human psyche has attracted the attention of many researchers, but the mental nature of suggestion has not been fully elucidated.

Interesting views on the role of suggestion in public life were expressed by the famous Russian psychiatrist V. M. Bekhterev at the beginning of the 20th century: kind of mental epidemics that develop due to suggestion by word or other ways on the already prepared soil of consciousness of the importance of the events experienced.

The author notes the great role of suggestion and emphasizes its special effect on representatives of the “simple” class, since suggestion instills mental states, i.e. ideas, feelings, and sensations, without the help of logic and any evidence.

Due to the specifics of suggestion, the ways for transmitting mental states with the help of it, unlike persuasion, are more numerous and varied, since suggestion acts not only on people with developed logic, but also on people who have insufficient logic due to a low level of education.

The effectiveness of suggestion c. largely depends on the trust of the addressee to the communicator and on the correspondence of suggested ideas, attitudes, and prescriptions to the personality of the addressee.

The identity of the addressee, or, as V. M. Bekhterev writes, “the mental nature of the face” is not only a product of the biological development of a person, but also the whole set of his socio-psychological characteristics, due to his social belonging and formed in the process of development of society, for the essence of the individual is "the totality of all social relations" (K. Marx).

The need to match suggested ideas, attitudes, and prescriptions with socio-psychological characteristics of the

social group to which propaganda is directed, underlies the selection of arguments used in propaganda, i.e., the basis of argumentation.

Argumentation is understood as a system of arguments to substantiate the proposed conclusions, assessments, recommendations, and prescriptions.

The quality and acceptability of arguments for the audience play a crucial role in the effectiveness of propaganda, because in order to encourage readers to act, it is necessary to take into account those motives of activity that underlie the actions of readers, that is, they really control and direct their activities. The correct consideration of the main motives of activity contributes to the fact that the promoted assessments, recommendations, and prescriptions acquire personal meaning for readers and thereby acquire effective force.

With the help of argumentation that appeals to feelings, mass newspapers seek to induce readers to act or inspire them with certain attitudes towards the perception of reality, using those motives for their readers' activities that are the most important characteristic of their personality and are conditioned by their affiliation. to one social group or another.

What methods are recommended by many bourgeois theoreticians and practitioners of propaganda to increase the effectiveness of influencing readers? These methods of influence, developed by the American Institute for Propaganda Analysis back in the 1930s, were called the "ABC of propaganda." They are widely used in bourgeois propaganda today and are characterized by many American authors as a very effective means of processing public consciousness. The bourgeois propaganda theorist L. Dub classifies these techniques as follows:

1. "Labeling" - when a negative label is "glued" to an idea (event) in order to force the reader to reject and stigmatize it without examining the evidence.

2. "Brilliant uncertainty" - when an event or idea is associated with the "world of virtue", which causes the reader to accept or approve the author's point of view without analyzing the evidence.

3. The propagandist uses the “transfer” technique to transfer the prestige or authority of a popular person or concept to the idea (event) being promoted, which contributes to a positive or negative reaction in the reader.

4. Reception "on the recommendation" is that the approval or condemnation of the idea (program, person, or event) is attributed to some respected or popular figure.

5. The "common people" technique is used by the propagandist to convince the audience that he and his ideas are good because they belong to the common people.

6. The technique of "rigging the cards" consists in the selection and manipulation of facts, the use of false arguments and illustrations, logical and counter-logical statements, to discredit the program, idea, or figure.

7. "Common platform" - using this technique, the propagandist seeks to inspire the reader with confidence that all members of the group to which he belongs accept the proposed idea (program) and therefore it makes sense for the reader to join the rest.

However, these techniques, formulated by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, are nothing more than argumentation, which in logic is called "argumentum ad publicum" - "argumentation to the public", which was described by Aristotle and is defined by logic as "such a means of

persuasion, when instead of substantiating the truth or falsity of the thesis with the help of objective arguments, the task is only to influence the feelings of people and thereby prevent the listeners from calmly forming an objective, impartial opinion about the subject to be discussed.

It follows that the propaganda techniques used in the mass press are arguments designed for psychological, but not logical impact, and imply a game on the feelings of the reader, due to the desire to hide the truth from the reader or give the facts a biased interpretation for lack of true arguments.

Thus, the author seeks to set in motion the will, but not to influence the mind.

"Argumentation to the public" includes a number of arguments containing an appeal to the feelings of the reader. Among them are arguments ad crumenam (argument for arrogance), ad invida (argument for envy), ad verecundiam (argument for prestige), ad ignoratium (argument calculated on the reader's ignorance), etc.

The pro-paralist "labeling" technique is a modification of the "to the person" argument, which boils down to the characterization of the person whose judgments are supported or challenged; however, the method of "sticking labels" is applied not only to a person, but also to an idea, program, concept, etc. The method of "juggling cards" can be classified among the arguments calculated on the ignorance of the audience (ad igno-ratium).

The “recommended” technique is an argumentum ipse dixit “proof by reference to someone's authority” or “to prestige” argumentation, which can also include the “transfer” propaganda technique.

Not all of these techniques can be used with equal success in different readerships. To illustrate the differentiated approach to the use of argumentation in bourgeois newspapers designed for different readerships, let us turn to the editorial materials of the two main British daily mass newspapers with the largest circulations - the Daily Mirror and the Daily Express. (…)

Each of the newspapers in its own way analyzes and argues the reasons for the results of the vote and tries to predict the prospects of the Labor and Conservative parties in the upcoming elections, while using the proposed material to carry out their propaganda tasks, instilling in the minds of readers of appropriate assessments and attitudes to the perception of reality. Below we give the texts of the articles in full, which allows us to follow the chain of reasoning, commenting and argumentation of thought. (…)

The main conclusion that the newspaper seeks to instill in readers is that the results obtained are not accidental and that the elections must be held as powerfully as soon as possible, because "until the elections are completed, the energy of the government will be directed to a noisy, and sometimes donkey pre-election squabble. . Until the elections are over, we will not have a government with the courage or authority to deal with desperate, critical national issues."

And then the newspaper, in substantiating its point of view, is limited to an emotional enumeration of the internal economic problems facing the UK. It will be in vain for the reader to look for an analysis of the current economic situation or logical arguments in favor of Labor rule.

The newspaper is not interested in teaching its readers to understand the economy and analyze the current situation, so logical analysis and argumentation are replaced by judgments

that are not based on objective data and appeal to the feelings of the reader.

To this end, the author of the article resorts to argumentation, defined in logic as argumentation “to a person”, which boils down to characterizing a person whose judgments are supported or disputed.

Thus, while pointing to the desirability of early elections, the newspaper emphasizes the need for a "courageous and authoritative government" whose "energy" would be spent on solving national problems, and not on "noisy squabbles." Calling on the prime minister to set an election date, the newspaper describes such an act as "worthy of a statesman" who puts "the country first, but not the party."

This assessment inspires readers with the idea that the timing of the elections depends primarily not on the objective reasons underlying this or that decision of the prime minister, but on his personal qualities, which ultimately determine his behavior as a statesman and how politics.

The newspaper carries the same idea in other editorials, emphasizing that "in an era when the principles of political parties are not very different from each other, the personality and personal reputation of leaders and their henchmen is much more important."

Thus, the newspaper does not seek to build an article on the principle of logical argumentation or a chain of evidence, but sums up the “foundation” for its thesis in the form of a judgment that appeals to the feelings of readers.

It should be noted that with the help of such judgments, the newspaper instills in the minds of readers the stereotype of a statesman who, regardless of party affiliation, puts the

interests of the country above party interests and thereby serves the welfare of the country. (…)

As you can see, the categorical statements of the Daily Mirror, the imperativeness and emotionality of judgments, the lack of detailed argumentation and the use of argumentation "to the public" or, more precisely, instead of argumentation, appeals to the feelings of readers - all this contributes to the emotional impact on readers to the detriment of the intellectual one. (…)

Despite the fact that both newspapers belong to the category of mass newspapers and use suggestion as the main method of influencing readers, there is a difference between them, which is expressed not only in appearance, but also in the methods of presenting the material. This difference, as noted above, is due to the orientation towards readerships with different socio-psychological characteristics and is manifested in a differentiated approach to propaganda techniques.

Let's move on to the analysis of an editorial from the Daily Express newspaper and see how this difference manifests itself in editorial materials. Even a cursory reading of the article reveals the calmer, more sensible tone that distinguishes the editorials of the Daily Express from the editorials of the Daily Mirror. But the absence of the loudness inherent in the Daily Mirror is not yet evidence of the evidence and persuasiveness of the materials of the Daily Express.

What is the main idea of the article? So, the newspaper notes "a dramatic new political trend - a turn back to Labor."

Naturally, a newspaper designed for a mass audience and not interested in expanding the horizons of its reader does not provide an analysis of the circumstances that ensured the "turn of fate" in favor of the Laborites, and considers it possible and sufficient to emphasize meaningfully, due to its

party orientation, the chance and unexpectedness of the "turn in fate." As an argument in support of its opinion, the newspaper quotes the words of R. Crossman, who believes that such a turn is "simply incredible."

Limiting itself to referring to authority, the newspaper resorts to the propagandistic idiom “by recommendation” (or an argument called in logic ipse dixit - “he said it himself”), thus replacing the missing arguments for the truth or falsity of the statement with a reference to authority.

It is not by chance that the newspaper refers to the statement of R. Crossman, since he is a prominent figure in the Labor Party, whom the Daily Mirror speaks of as a “Labor generator of ideas”, “the mind of a great national party” and a “devoted socialist”.

Of course, The Daily Express is counting on the fact that the statement of a prominent Labor leader about the randomness of the pre-election results makes the newspaper's point of view more convincing and therefore there is no need to resort to additional analysis. Due to its party orientation, the Daily Express expresses doubts about the possibility of a Labor victory, emphasizing that the Prime Minister can be sure of only one thing - in "the most severe criticism of his partners in the event of a defeat."

This statement also attempts to divert readers from the heart of the matter by substituting important, relevant facts for Labour's personal relationships. But instead of the emotionality of the Daily Mirror (let us remember the nature of the “tick of pre-election discussions as a “donkey squabble”), the Daily Express resorts to demagogy that claims to be thoughtful, but does not carry any information.

Like the Daily Mirror, the Daily Express mentions the duty of the prime minister to put his duty to the country ahead of

partisan considerations and insists that the prime minister decide to act or wait without delay.

The newspaper's conclusions are presented in the same categorical tone as in the Daily Mirror, but unlike the latter, the Daily Express resorts to pathetic rhetoric, seeking to influence the reader's sense of patriotism by manipulating such concepts as "an appeal to the country" , "the prime minister's duty to the British elector" and "for the good of the nation as a whole".

(The title of the article “The Prime Minister and the People” serves the same purpose, as if emphasizing the responsibility of the Prime Minister to the people.) This set of propaganda clichés, typical of the Daily Express, expresses the principles of “popular conservatism”, appealing to the national solidarity and patriotic pride of the English people. With the help of such ideological cliches, conservatives seek to counteract the formation of the class consciousness of the workers, inspiring readers with the idea that the interests of all Englishmen, regardless of their class affiliation, are the same.

But what kind of unity of interests can we talk about if “the English working class in the course of time has become a completely different people than the English bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie has more kinship with all the other nations of the earth than with the workers who live next to it.

The workers speak a different dialect, have different ideas and ideas, different manners and moral principles, a different religion, and politics than the bourgeoisie.

These are two completely different peoples, who are just as different from each other, as if they belonged to different races ... " (…)

In the qualitative press, in accordance with its goals and the use of persuasion as the main method of influencing the reader, analytical materials are published with a system of judgments, argued by logical arguments, appealing to reason, and suggesting a conscious perception of the information offered and commentary, which are submitted with the opinion of the big bourgeoisie .

The authors of the articles avoid a straightforward assessment of the events being analyzed, but gradually lead readers to the appropriate conclusions with the help of a chain of reasoning substantiated by arguments designed for a high level of education and theoretically developed logical thinking.

The use of false arguments by the newspapers

The essence of the methods of bourgeois propaganda comes through most clearly during periods of political crises and upheavals that bring conflicting forces face to face. Among such crisis situations in the capitalist world, first of all, is the aggravation of the strike movement of the working people, when the antagonistic class contradictions of capitalist society are especially clearly manifested.

During the period of activation of the labor movement, the bourgeois mass media and propaganda further intensify their propaganda activities aimed at combating the activity of the masses, resorting to the most sophisticated methods of manipulating public consciousness. Strikers and their progressive leaders are subjected to the most severe persecution, accused of undermining the well-being of the nation, unemployment, rising prices and inflation. And always among the most furious participants in the persecution of the strikers are the mass newspapers "Daily Mirror" and "Daily Express", skillfully camouflaging the anti-people

essence of their propaganda with phrases about sympathy for the workers and about the desire to help them.

With their propaganda designed to split the labor movement, newspapers seek to undermine the authority of the most active leaders of the trade union movement, communists, left trade unions and shop stewards (representatives of grassroots trade union organizations), who consistently defend workers' rights.

Striking trade unions, their leaders and strikers are being bombarded with false accusations of undermining the country's economy, of competitively shuffling the cards," through which newspapers seek to impress readers that the solution of contentious issues in relations between workers and employers often depends on the personal qualities of the negotiating representatives. .

In this regard, it is interesting to look at the coverage of the national miners' strike that took place in January-February 1972. Before the strike began, both newspapers appealed to the miners in which they expressed the hope that both sides could come to an agreement and the miners would not have to go on strike. . "Everyone hopes that Mr. Gormley, the leader of the union, and Mr. Ezra, the Minister of Coal Mining, will be able to reach a compromise before Sunday, which is the start of the national miners' strike. . . Mr. Gormley and Mr. Ezra must ensure that there is no strike," writes Dale and Express. The paper then makes the same argument again: "Eight words spoken by one person to another bring hope of averting a national coal strike ... Three minutes of private conversation can mean significantly more than weeks of public arguing."

There is still time for sanity to prevail. Five more days."

We find the same thought in the Daily Mirror. But the Daily Mirror resorts to its favorite propagandist method of argumentation “to the person”, simultaneously with an attempt to instill the idea of the possibility of resolving all controversial issues at the “round table”, in the process of personal negotiations, it seeks to discredit the leaders of the miners’ trade union, to undermine their authority in the eyes of the strikers. To this end, the newspaper, in an article entitled "Another Crisis of Leadership", characterizes the leaders of the trade union and compares them with the previous leaders - the communists, without stinting on a few commendable words addressed to the latter in order to show its "objectivity", to give the statement greater persuasiveness. and use the authority of former communist leaders to undermine the authority of modern union leaders. “The miners' union had two outstanding general secretaries, Arthur Horner and Ville Painter,” the newspaper writes. Both are communists. They were both extremely skilled mediators. Resourceful and patient. Do D. Gormley and L. Daly look like them? Stubborn, yes, Gormley and Daley are stubborn. But are they skillful mediators? Resourceful? Patient? Unfortunately, the answer so far is no. The cause of the miners enjoys the sympathy of the nation. But where is the tactical art of negotiation? Arthur and Bill ought not to have been so adamant, they should have talked passionately and reached a solution that is satisfactory for the miners and less ruinous for the nation.”

The Communist newspaper The Morning Star lambasted the Daily Mirror's statement, giving a proper rebuff to the paper's propaganda gimmicks: “No amount of art of negotiation will help. The Mirror knows that it is the government that is standing in the way of a fair resolution of the issue. Why is she writing all sorts of nonsense about "heated negotiations" when it is clear to the whole world that, if not for the strike, the

miners would not have received one penny more than the Ministry of Coal Mining offered. Neither A. Horner, nor W. Painter, and no one else, living, or dead, could have persuaded Heath and the Tories, sitting at the "round table" with representatives of the Ministry of Coal Mining, even if they sat for a whole year. Only strikes can ensure that the demands of the miners are met. The Mirror hates strikes because it serves the masters. She attacks the miners and their leader, not because they are not successful, but precisely because their actions are producing results."

The unprecedented scope of the strike and the sympathy of other trade union organizations forced even the Daily Express to change its usual methods of covering the labor movement. This time we find materials in which the newspaper argues in defense of the miners, which is completely atypical for the Daily Express.

This change in the tactics of the newspaper can be explained by two reasons: firstly, the pressure of public opinion and, secondly, the fact that sympathy is of a formal nature and is used as a propaganda device to win the trust of readers, since it hides the traditional defense of bourgeois interests.

The Daily Express prints almost daily articles addressed to the striking workers, and therefore the argumentation in these articles is somewhat different: it is more specific, instead of "brilliant uncertainties" or arguments for "prestige" and "wealth", the newspaper operates with an argument designed for workers. , and, expressing his sympathy for the miners, writes: "The miners have a hard, sometimes dangerous job."

As for the appeals and main ideas propagated by the newspapers, they completely coincide. During the preparations for the strike, newspapers expressed the hope that it would not take place and tried to instill in readers the

idea that the conflict could be resolved through personal contacts between representatives of workers and entrepreneurs. After the strike began, both newspapers, fearing a manifestation of proletarian solidarity, urged the miners to change their minds and in no case involve workers in other industries in the conflict, stop picketing, return to work, and wait for the decision of the commission.

The newspapers, expressing sympathy for the miners, emphasize the "exclusivity" of their position and the loyalty of their trade unions, which is expressed in the fact that the miners performed their duties responsibly, put up with many difficulties, and did not go on strike even with a significant reduction in the number of workers and a decrease in wages.

The emphasis on the exclusivity of the miners by both newspapers is not accidental: they, like Campbell Adamson, CEO of the British Employers' Confederation, are assured that if the miners win, it will inspire other workers to fight for a decent increase in wages.

The emphasis on the exclusivity of the miners by both newspapers is not accidental: they, like Campbell Adamson, CEO of the British Employers' Confederation, are worried that if the miners win, it will inspire other workers to fight for a decent increase in wages. “These people do hard, dirty, dangerous work. Their number has decreased by hundreds of thousands over the past 20 years. They accepted the closure of the mines on a massive scale. They increased their productivity even when their wages were continuously falling,” writes the Daily Express in an article dated February 7, 1972. The Daily Mirror echoes her: “They feel like they have no choice as their dirty, back-breaking, dangerous jobs are devalued by being pushed lower than dozens of workers in other industries. All this happened at a time when they were responsibly and steadfastly increasing productivity by 0.5%

and accepting a decrease in the number of workers from 550,000 to 280,000 in ten years" (January 17, 1972).

As you can see, the arguments in this case are absolutely identical: both newspapers primarily emphasize the exclusivity of the position of the miners and their loyalty to the existing order, manifested in the absence of a strike movement, despite the reduction in wages and the closure of mines. However, the reason for the passion of the miners for many years lies not in the loyalty of the miners, as the newspapers emphasize, but in the situation that has developed in the British coal industry…(…)

The newspaper, in its own tradition and the Daily Mirror's tradition, which is manifested in similar materials, operates with the argument "to fear", with the help of which it hopes to intimidate the strikers, split the ranks of the strikers and cause dissension among them. "Twenty years ago, politicians would have panicked at the threat of shutting down mines. But not now," the newspaper writes, hinting at the possibility of using alternative fuel sources.

The Daily Mirror also threatens miners with the possibility of mine closures: "Miners risk thousands of them losing their jobs as uneconomical mines may close sooner than they should." This is the "to fear" argument typical of both newspapers, which is widely used by them when covering issues of the strike movement. By the way, the Daily Express used the same argumentation during the miners' strike in November 1970, threatening the miners with unemployment: (…)

As you can see, this argument has already become traditional. But now the situation has changed: the strike has turned into a nationwide strike, and the Daily Express immediately changes tactics. Now the newspaper unashamedly abandons its

previous false arguments and replaces them with new ones, using a real assessment of the capacity of the coal industry to make false conclusions.

The newspaper calls on the miners to change their minds, appeals to a sense of patriotism and draws bright prospects for the development of the coal industry: “Coal has a great future. . . There are huge rich reservoirs to be developed. Maximizing the efficient use of coal will reduce our dependence on Arab oil and lower the cost of imports. At present, Mr. Derek Ezra, Minister of Coal Mining, and Mr. Joe Gormln, Union Chief, must decide how to use and share this wealth.

As noted above, both newspapers seek to split the ranks of the striking miners and stifle the solidarity movement that has swept the UK in connection with the miners' strike. The Daily Express prints an article under the heading "No Help Needed" in which it writes: “Left militant organizations that are not affiliated with the miners' union use their bickering for their own purposes. They infiltrate the picket lines, use the tension to stir up riots. The miners themselves must answer. They can picket on their own. They must send all strangers. And uphold the dignity of your cause."

Regarding the Daily Express's remarks about the pickets, the Communist newspaper Morning Star wrote: "The fiction that the miners' pickets exercise unlimited power" is the wild fantasy of the Beaverbrook Newspapers. The miners are confronting thousands of police officers who are trying with all their might to drag the strikebreakers through the ranks of the picketers Ji in many cases use violence against the pickets. (…)

As you can see, the newspaper is trying to intimidate the miners and is urging them to stop the strike until the decision of the Wilberforce commission is passed.

Let's compare the appeal of the Labor Daily Mirror with the appeal of the conservative Daily Express and see what the second newspaper calls on the miners, which also claims to be the defender and friend of the people: “Just as people want justice for the miners, the miners have duties to society . These responsibilities are clear. First: Let the miners say yes today. Second: Pickets from power plants and coal depots will be withdrawn.

Third: Get back to work and let the coal ministry and the union work out the details. Only then will Britain move forward again. This is a challenge to everyone, including the miners.

Britain has an extraordinary ability to leapfrog from the threat of defeat, from economic chaos. The task of everyone is clear: to contribute to the resumption of work of power plants, silenced factories, to light and heat shops, institutions, and houses as quickly as a miner's cage is usually lowered or a generator is started.”

The essence of the appeals of both newspapers is exactly the same, but in the Daily Express, specific proposals are interspersed with arguments about the "justice", "duty" and "extraordinary abilities" of Britain.

It should be emphasized that both newspapers direct the spearhead of their propaganda against the solidarity of the workers, the strike movement and picketing, since "the great mass battles- and especially strikes - promote the growth of political understanding, trust and organization, because they expose the falsehood and bring the real conflicting forces face to face. Attaching great importance to the role of picketing in

the labor movement as one of the powerful means of active struggle of the proletariat, The Morning Star wrote: “The conditions that the miners have achieved represent a great victory. This victory was achieved thanks to a united and determined struggle, in which picketing and the solidarity of other trade unions were key factors.

In the days when the Daily Express and the Daily Mirror urged workers to stop picketing and return to work pending the outcome of the investigation, the Morning Star urged the miners in an editorial: solidarity because of optimistic guesses about the decision of the commission, which may turn out to be completely wrong. There is only one sure path to victory, and that is the path of maintaining the struggle and strengthening solidarity with other workers.” Here is what a communist newspaper writes about one of the articles in the Daily Mirror: “The Daily Mirror says: the government cannot remain silent in response to a proposal for an increase of about £2 per week. A fair deal would mean a bit more specie for the miners in terms of productivity." (…)

Arguments on behalf of the nation or society, in the interests of the nation or society, and in defense of the nation or society occupy a large place in the argumentation of the Daily Mirror and the Daily Express. In accordance with these arguments, the newspapers create and propagate the stereotype of a monolithic English nation, according to which the interests of classes and social groups in Great Britain are the same and depend on the same factors.

Such argumentation is primarily designed for the ignorance of the reader and is a propagandistic device of “card manipulation” because there can be no question of any unity of the interests of the nation in Great Britain.

There is nothing surprising in the fact that in the interpretation of the bourgeois newspapers "Daily Mirror" and "Daily Express" the interests of the nation coincide with the interests of the big bourgeoisie and, making appeals and instructions on behalf of the nation, the newspapers actually propagate norms that are beneficial to the ruling elite. Addressing readers on behalf of the nation, newspapers appeal to a sense of fear, pity, prestige, "rig the cards", use arguments designed to affect the reader emotionally. (…)

The use of appropriate appeals and arguments, calculated on the ignorance of the reader and appealing to feeling, but not to reason, pursues the task of manipulating public opinion and falsifying the true reasons for the difficult situation in the country. With the help of false argumentation, newspapers create and introduce false opposing stereotypes - a nation whose interests are the same, and strikers who undermine these interests and cause economic and political damage to the nation as a whole.

Using Two-Way Argumentation to Increase the Efficiency of Propaganda

As propaganda theorists point out, one-sided argumentation is more effective in an audience with a low educational level, so mainstream newspapers prefer it. (With bilateral argumentation, the content includes both one's own point of view and the point of view of the opponent.)

But experimental verification showed that "a two-sided presentation gives deeper changes in attitudes and is subsequently subject to much less influence from sources with different opinions on the same issues."

In addition, two-way apry-mentation contributes to suggesting to the reader the idea of the impartiality of the communicator.

One of the main features of the Daily Mirror in comparison with other bourgeois newspapers, including the Daily Express, in our opinion, is the use of two-sided argumentation in covering the strike movement. Unlike the Daily Express, whose readership includes a more representative petty and middle bourgeoisie, the Daily Mirror does not always directly condemn the actions of the strikers, but sometimes resorts to arguments in their defense.

We find a brilliant socio-psychological analysis of the image and character of the worker in Engels' The Condition of the Working Class in England: do to support the poor than the bourgeoisie ... The humanity of the workers is manifested in a very gratifying way in other forms.

They themselves were not spoiled by cruel fate, and therefore they know how to sympathize with those who live poorly. For them, every person is a person, while for the bourgeois the worker is not quite a person. That is why the workers are more courteous, more affable, and although they are more in need of money than the propertied class, yet they are less greedy for them; for them, money has value only for the sake of what it can buy, while for the bourgeois it has a special inherent value, the value of a deity, and turns the bourgeois into a low, shabbily “man of profit”.

The worker, to whom this feeling of reverence for money is completely alien, is not as greedy as the bourgeois, who is ready to do anything to make more money, and sees the purpose of his life in filling his money bag. That is why the worker is much more independent in his judgments, more

receptive to reality than the bourgeois, and does not look at everything through the prism of personal interests.

The owners of the Daily Mirror are hardly aware of this characteristic. But, due to its accuracy and depth, it makes it possible to better understand the features of the propaganda mechanism of the Daily Mirror, with the help of which the newspaper seeks to encourage its readers to act, using arguments designed for such qualities of readers as feelings of a team, workers' solidarity, and humanism, which are characteristic of the working class by virtue of its class affiliation, in spite of the activities of a powerful propaganda apparatus.

However, the Daily Mirror seeks not only to use these qualities to protect the interests of the ruling class, but also to strike at them, undermining the class solidarity of the working people, instilling base, and selfish interests among readers, trying to develop in them the greed of the owner, while simultaneously using and suppressing the inherent worker humanity.

The whole way of life in capitalist society also contributes to this, where the difficult daily struggle for a standard of living can develop in the working people a kind of "acquisitive complex", concentrating all their thoughts and interests on material consumption.

As a Labor-oriented paper with a three-quarters working-class readership, the Daily Mirror is notable for its particularly sophisticated propaganda gimmicks, designed to gain credibility with its readers and to prepare the "ground" for the necessary propaganda indoctrination. To this end, the newspaper strives in every possible way to increase its authority, emphasizing its "objectivity" and "independence". It seems that the use of two-sided argumentation when

reporting on strikes played a significant role in the reputation of the newspaper, which is written about in the book "The British Press": ". .the newspaper is known for its sincerity on current issues and its ability to write about major political issues in a language that is easily understood by people uninformed in politics."

According to the Soviet journalist V. Osipov, few "capture the mood of the mass reader as subtly as the Daily Mirror." The coverage of strikes with the use of two-sided argument distinguishes the Daily Mirror from other bourgeois newspapers, puts it in a special position in the eyes of readers and allows the newspaper to camouflage its anti-popular nature more skillfully.

An analysis of articles with two-sided argumentation reveals one, in our opinion, very important pattern, which is that articles of this kind refer only to workers and employees of the state economic sector and in no way affect the private sector of industry, which allows the newspaper to use such kind of "sympathy" as a subtle propaganda device, designed to gain popularity among readers, but not to affect the "holy of holies", the basis of the capitalist system - private ownership of tools and means of production.

"The bourgeois press," wrote V. I. Lenin, "in the good old bourgeois times" did not touch on the "holy of holies" - the internal state of affairs in private factories, in private farms. This custom was in the interests of the bourgeoisie." At present, the bourgeois press still continues to adhere to the same custom.

The Daily Mirror advocates a price and income policy that freezes wages in both sectors of the industry through government control. As a result of the Conservatives' abolishment of price and income policies, workers in the state

economic sector have become, in the Daily Mirror's interpretation, the role of "whipping boys" because private sector workers, the newspaper claims, can always negotiate with employers. The Daily Mirror thus divides the entire English working class into two broad categories: those working in the private sector and those working in the public sector.

The opposition of the interests of the two categories of workers helps to undermine the class solidarity of the workers, introduces a split in their ranks and opposes the development of the class self-consciousness of the workers, which V. I. Lenin defined as “the understanding by the workers that the only way to improve their situation and achieve their liberation is in the struggle against the class of capitalists and factory owners, who are created by large factories and plants.

In the interpretation of the Daily Express, the division of workers into workers in the private and public sectors is usually not emphasized, and the strike movement is always and unconditionally sharply criticized.

As an example of the use of two-sided argument by the Daily Mirror, consider an editorial published in the newspaper regarding the December 1970 strike of 125,000 power plant and grid workers.

The conservative bourgeois press launched a furious propaganda campaign against the strikers, trying to restore public opinion against them and calling on the government to punish the energy union.

The Daily Mirror, true to its propaganda mission, resorts to another tactic that takes into account the socio-psychological characteristics of its readership, because a newspaper that

works mainly among working people cannot speak out against them so directly.

In an article dated December 9, 1970, the newspaper assesses the current situation from the position of an allegedly objective observer, using the argument "for" and "against" the strikers. Below is the full text of the article: (…)

Such "ritual war dances" (as Morningstar defines them) suit the ruling class quite well, help transform the class struggle into a "sweet bargain" between workers and employers, and give the workers the illusion of "social equality" in a capitalist society.

To suggest the main idea, the author uses the external form, with the help of which he seeks to ensure the maximum efficiency of the organization of the material, and the internal form - the conceptual side of the content, operating with such socio-political concepts that allow transforming the main idea into a form accessible to the reader of mass newspapers.

But socio-political categories in the mass press are replaced by false stereotypes that distort objective reality and contribute to the propaganda of bourgeois ideas.

This article is also no exception, because, by adopting appropriate judgments and appeals, the newspaper seeks to introduce the traditional stereotypes of the bourgeois press.

Let's see how the author uses the interaction of all these elements of a journalistic work to achieve the tasks facing him: on the one hand, influencing the reader in the direction necessary for the ruling class and, on the other hand, maintaining the reputation of an "objective" newspaper.

The article begins with a very expressive title, the expressiveness of which is enhanced by the use of parallel syntactic constructions and the threefold repetition of the

word "no". Playing with the antonyms "villain" and "victim" throughout the text is designed to emotionally affect the reader and suggest to him the idea that electricians are still "villains", the perpetrators of the plight of the "victims", although, perhaps, not through their own fault, but through the fault of the trade union that went on strike.

As you can see, the newspaper, seeking to split the ranks of the working people and undermine their class self-consciousness, again makes an attempt to direct the indignation of readers on the wrong track - against the trade union of electricians, which allegedly is the main culprit of the situation.

In the first part of the article, with abundant factual material that serves as an argument directed against the strikers, a gloomy picture of the consequences of the strike is drawn: “Judgments about the fact, and the fact is expressed by the judgment, outwardly look axiomatic, undeniable”, therefore, the use of factual material in propaganda makes propaganda more convincing and efficient. (…)

The emotional impact of the beginning of the article is enhanced with the help of linguistic means and stylistic devices that make the first sentences of the article more expressive due to the repeated repetition of the emotionally colored word “victims” placed at the beginning of the sentence and highlighted in a larger font, as well as parallel syntactic constructions. In addition, the argument against the strikers is given at the beginning of the article and precedes the argument in their favor, which ensures its maximum impact, since the course and outcome of the propaganda impact is influenced not only by the quality of the argument, but also by the order of presentation of the arguments.

“Once arguments have been presented in support of a judgment, the presentation of arguments against that same judgment is much less effective.”

The quality and acceptability of the arguments in the first part of the article, their location and high degree of emotionality lead to the fact that the subsequent argument in favor of the strikers looks unconvincing and does not contribute to the emotional infection of the audience. This is due primarily to the quality of the argument, which, in comparison with the first, seems abstract and rather vague. From the point of view of readers, “energy people are themselves victims of a painful situation.

They have a sense of duty to society, but they also have reasons to be dissatisfied with their salary. They are both citizens and union members.” It is quite natural that the arguments in favor of the strikers, containing such abstract concepts as "a sense of duty to society" and vague formulations such as "reasons for discontent", lose significantly in comparison with the argument of the first part, which is concrete and emotional, because in journalism "concreteness as a means of persuasion plays a huge role" .

The article ends with conclusions typical of the Daily Mirror, which suggest the need to solve all problems at the "round table", that is, through negotiations between trade unions and employers. The appeal to the government that concludes the article is also one of the newspaper's typical propaganda gimmicks, pursuing several goals: highlighting the newspaper's activities as a defender of ordinary people, emphasizing its significance, and once again reminding readers of the possibility of resolving all crises through negotiations.

As the analysis of the article shows, the sympathy that the newspaper allegedly expresses to the strikers is nothing more than a propaganda ploy, since the interaction of the form and content of the article, based on the use of the psychological characteristics of the readership, contributes to the unambiguous perception of the material, contrary to bilateral argumentation. .

All of the above leads to the conclusion that the Daily Mirror, which differs from other English bourgeois newspapers in that it publishes articles in which it allegedly expresses sympathy for workers and strikers, actually uses bilateral argumentation as an effective propaganda device, helping the newspaper to influence the socio-psychological characteristics of its readership more skillfully.

At the same time, the newspaper resorts to a kind of social mimicry, speaking in words as a defender of the workers, but in fact pushing through the interests of the bourgeoisie, undermining the solidarity of the working people, splitting the ranks of the labor movement from within and preventing the formation of the class self-consciousness of the workers. Thus, the Daily Mirror seeks to undermine the labor movement from within, from the "left", by playing the role of a Trojan horse in the ranks of the strikers.

The same differentiated use of argumentation and methods of influencing readers, with the general support of the class interest of the bourgeoisie, is constantly found in the materials of the Daily Mirror and The Daily Express when covering the political events of British life. (…)

The publications of the Daily Mirror and the Daily Express testify to the consistently anti-popular reactionary policy pursued by the bourgeois newspapers in the interests of the ruling class. Such a single ideological line is manifested in the

same assessment and interpretation of events affecting the foundations of capitalist society, which is in no way prevented by their different party orientation.

Uninterested in educating their readership and seeking to keep the working people under ideological and political control, mass newspapers structure their stories in such a way that they are dominated by emotional means of influence corresponding to the level of development of their intended reader. Hence the use of suggestion as the main method of bringing information and commentary to the minds of readers, the absence of logical arguments, reasoned generalizations and scientific analysis, and the use of argumentation "to the public".

The methods and techniques of influencing a mass audience are subordinated to the main goal of bourgeois propaganda: to divert the working people from the class struggle to obscure antagonistic class contradictions in capitalist society, to corrupt and ideologically enslave class-conscious workers and form public opinion in defense of the class interests of the bourgeoisie.

Semantics of propaganda

linguistic mechanism of propaganda

A. D. Kulman

Finding the most effective manipulative methods of spiritual enslavement of workers, means of concealing real connections between events and objects in the external world for a person, dulling the feeling of protest against reality is the main goal of modern bourgeois propaganda. In achieving it, a huge role is assigned to language - a powerful tool for influencing public consciousness.

It should be especially noted that V. I. Lenin perfectly understood the power of the word and therefore paid great attention to the fight against phrase-mongering, hypocrisy, linguistic disguise, covering up the reactionary essence of bourgeois politics and ideology with ringing phrases. “The name “Constitutional Democratic Party,” he noted, “immediately resembles a well-known saying: language is given to a person in order to hide his thoughts. The name "k.-d. P." invented in order to hide the monarchist character of the party.

Exposing the treacherous activities of the leaders of the Second International, V. I. Lenin wrote: “... to cover up this real policy, to deceive the workers, the heroes of London and Vienna use the phrase that we “recognize” the “independence of nations.” . . phrase-mongering about a democratic peace is a bourgeois lie, the objective meaning of which is to distract the workers from the revolutionary struggle for socialism!

The ability to lie subtly, subtly, covertly is now a vital issue for those who strive at all costs to preserve the existing bourgeois system. Progressive Western linguists cannot but be aware that language in their society is used by politicians not as a means to form and express thought, but rather to hide, embellish and distort real facts. One of the founders of the linguistic direction “general semantics”, which deals with the impact of the word on human behavior, S. Hayakawa, speaking to the teachers of the English language of America at their annual convention in 1972, said: “We are all used to the idea that we live in the age of information explosion. But one of the reasons that gave rise to a common semantics is the fact that we are also in the center of a “disinformation explosion”. Every year we are bombarded with millions of printed words and words broadcast on radio or television. We are surrounded by merchants of all kinds, wholesalers and

retailers, propagandists covert and overt, masters of persuasion and suggestion. We must work out a method to help us decide who and what to believe."

However, the method of "general semantics", which its founders Chase and Hayakawa so hoped for, according to the latter, failed. Yes, it could not be otherwise. In order to understand the stream of lies that daily falls on audiences in the capitalist world, you need to have a good political background, and not just a linguistic one. Language is only a powerful tool of influence, but it is important, first of all, to realize in whose hands it is.

In its activities of manipulating public consciousness, bourgeois propaganda, using the rich resources of language, seeks to "sell" unpopular ideas, unpleasant problems, disturbing phenomena in the same way that merchants sell their goods. They are wrapped in attractive packaging to hide their true nature.

The American magazine Consumer Reports gives an example of real estate language being taught: "Don't say down payment, say initial investment, don't say second mortgage, say maybe we can find additional finance." Don't use the word 'contract', let them sign a 'proposition' (offer or proposal)."

Politicians follow the same pattern, trying to "sell" unpopular ideas. In 1972 a circular was sent to all US official agencies ordering the removal of the word "poverty" (poverty) from all documents and replacing it with the words "low-income people".

The words “ghetto”, “slums” are not used in official propaganda either. They were replaced by the vague expression “inner city. When blacks are evicted from certain places where whites do not want to live with them, this is called urban renewal. And it's not just about style. "Linguistic

cosmetics" is used to give the impression that all unpleasant problems have already been solved, and if they exist, they are not so terrible.

“Poverty” causes indignation and compassion, and “low income” is an economic category; poverty must be fought, and low income can be raised to a higher level. The words "ghetto" and "slums" are associated with ideas of poverty, hunger, and violence. The phrase “inner city” is not only free from these unpleasant associations, but it is so “general” that it does not evoke any associations and it is difficult to imagine what exactly stands behind it.

Another example of beautiful "packaging" that hides terrible content is the Pentagon's favorite method of giving attractive names to the most deadly weapons, often proper names, for example, nuclear bombs are called "David Crockett", "Oriole", "Navaja", "Hound" , intercontinental rockets - with the names of mythological gods - "Thor", "Jupiter", "Atlas", "Zeus", stars - "Pola rice" (Polar Star). This also includes the use of the epithet "clean" to characterize the new invention of the American military - the neutron bomb, which sounds at least blasphemous, if you remember what exactly stands behind this "purity".

The most euphonious words are chosen to make you forget about what the "monsters" of modern technology are connected with. They are trying to reduce them to the status of ordinary things and, at the same time, to move them away so that they are perceived as objects outside of concrete reality, and, therefore, to remove responsibility for their production and use. (…)

The expression "at this point in time" serves to isolate, to separate the event under discussion from all other events and people. It becomes a moment that exists by itself; therefore,

responsibility is removed from those who act at this “point in time”.

Another notable feature of Waterrate's language is the widespread use of euphemisms. It is extremely important how this or that action will be called. "Burglary" is a criminal act, but "intelligence gathering operation", as the White House officials called it, is an absolutely innocent thing.

The law prohibits the installation of listening devices, hence the name "electronic surveillance".

Before entering the house, thieves usually look at it, conduct surveillance. The same activity of those involved in the "Watergate case" received the meaningful, scientific-sounding name "vulnerability and feasibility studies."

None of these expressions is associated with the criminal activities of top US officials led by the President, therefore, there can be no question of any criminal liability. Such manipulation of public consciousness is possible due to the use of the specific features of the language.

Language is a system of signs that we use to denote real-life objects; words can serve to create images that truly reflect reality, and deep discrepancies between the images that arise when we speak, act, read or write, and the real state of things. It is the symbolic essence of language that allows manipulating the minds of a large number of people in the world of capital. This happens due to the complexity and subtlety of the functioning of the language as a special sign system, which is characterized by the following.

1. In a natural language, most sign words have more than one meaning, i.e., they do not correspond to one object of reality….These different meanings of the same linguistic sign are actualized only in speech, in a specific context.

Consequently, a misunderstanding of the context can lead to a misinterpretation of the sign, i.e., ultimately to incorrect information about the fact of reality.

2. Language is characterized by the phenomenon of polylexia as the generation of numerous lexemes that characterize the same object, i.e., the same object of reality is correlated with a number of linguistic signs. So, in Russian, a doctor can also be called “doctor”, “healer”, “esculapius”, etc.

3. Only the sign-term is semantically invariant and conveys information that the speaker and the listener imagine unambiguously. Meaningful lexemes are polysemic, have different variants of meanings, the boundaries between which are often blurred, changeable, as a result of which, when they are used in speech, the so-called semantic fascination (decrease in the value and effectiveness of information) occurs. “The arrival of information ... is necessarily connected with the fact that it removes the uncertainty of the situation; this, however, does not exclude an element of uncertainty in the very content of the received message, which allows a number of pragmatically unequal interpretations. Such indeterminacy in the semantics of the message ... can play a fascinating role.

4. In addition to the main meaning - denotation - a number of words also have certain connotations. Connotation is understood as the additional content of a word (or expression), its accompanying semantic or stylistic shades, which are superimposed on the main meaning and serve to express various kinds of expressive emotional and evaluative wrappers. The complexity of the connotation lies in the fact that it develops in the course of the use of words by different groups of people in different historical conditions.

Sometimes in the unity "denotation + connotation" the connotation begins to play the main role. R. Carnap, a famous English philosopher, pointed out that in poetry the words "sun" and "clouds" do not inform about the state of the weather, but express some feelings.

Connotative divergences often lead to a huge divergence in the meanings of denotative-equivalent signs. So, in English, in addition to the word "communist" (Communist), there is the word "commie", which is used when they speak derogatorily about members of the Communist Party.

Thus, using words with certain connotations, one can distort or tendentiously present information about a real fact that is contained in the main meaning of the word.

In language as a sign system, already starting from F. de Saussure, it is customary to distinguish two sides:

1) language is a system of socially significant signs, an inventory of lexemes and rules for their use. This side is an objective reality and does not depend on the individual;

2) speech - the use of a system of signs (actualization) in the act of communication. In this sense, the language already depends on the individual, who has a certain freedom of choice of certain signs and actively operates with them. In this case, it is not the language itself that acquires social significance, but the fact of choosing from the available linguistic signs.

It is these properties of the language that give bourgeois propaganda ample opportunity to manipulate public consciousness. It is worth noting that the prominent theoreticians H. Lassuzle, B. Smith and R. Casey define propaganda itself as "the deliberate choice and dissemination of a symbol in order to influence the behavior of the masses."

Therefore, when considering the language of bourgeois propaganda, one should carefully analyze the extralinguistic situation, and also take into account the role of communicants, the topics, and goals of communication.

Disguised words as a means of manipulating public consciousness

"Language," wrote O. Huxley, an English writer and philosopher, "is one of the means that people resort to hide or distort the truth. Finding the reality of war too unpleasant to contemplate calmly, we create a verbal alternative to this reality, parallel to it, but absolutely different in quality from it."

Although Huxley wrote about this in 1937, his statement extremely accurately defines the modern official propaganda policy of the US ruling circles. The phraseology used by the American media to report what happened in Vietnam and Southeast Asia from 1961 to 1975 is an example of creating such a distorted view of reality in order to justify what cannot be justified.

In order to hide, disguise, smooth over, distort the true situation, not only a number of special terms were created, but also a whole "sub-language", which some researchers call "Vietnamese-English" (Vietlish, Vietnam English), so it differs in the meaning of words from ordinary English.

The semantic analysis of a number of its key words and expressions, which was carried out at the denotative level, i.e., the relationship between the meaning of the linguistic sign and the object of reality, made it possible to identify the American official propaganda technique of deliberate distortion of information about real facts and events.

From the point of view of the relationship between the sign and its denotation, words can:

a) contain information about the subject that accurately reflects its properties (true denotation);

b) contain information that does not correspond to the properties of a real object (events, qualities, etc.), i.e. false denotation;

c) highlight one of the main (secondary) features of the subject to designate it as a whole.

From the very beginning of the aggression, from 1961, the purpose of American official propaganda was to hide the very fact of US participation in the Vietnam War. Therefore, when reading newspapers of that period, you will not find the words “troops”, “armed forces” anywhere, instead they wrote “advisors” everywhere, even when their number reached 20 thousand. The category of “advisers” included American pilots who committed regular bombing of North and South Vietnam. The bases from which they carried out bombing raids were called "training bases", and the bombings themselves were called "training flights".

And if the pilot did not return after the bombing, then this was officially reported as an “accident during a training flight” (training mission loss). Everything, therefore, looked as if it was not about the war, but about some kind of training activity that was carried out quite far from America.

In 1965 official US propaganda announced the establishment of a "pacification program" and year after year, month after month, Americans were informed of the success of this program.

The word "pacification" means appeasement, calm, restoration of peace, tranquility, order. One journalist described how this

“appeasement” took place: “The Vietnamese woman did not pay attention to the crying baby she held in her arms. She looked with hatred as American soldiers fired machine guns at chickens and ducks. Other soldiers shot a buffalo and a yard dog. Then they took away her husband, father, and eldest son, set fire to the house where all the family belongings were. The flames consumed everything - including the family tomb."

Consequently, the word "pacification" was used by American propaganda to refer to such actions as killing those who resisted, moving people out of villages, destroying domestic animals, burning entire villages. In one newspaper, even such an absurd report once appeared: "One village resisted appeasement so stubbornly that in the end it had to be destroyed."

This is a striking example of false denotation, namely, the use of a word to denote a phenomenon that is directly opposite to what it denotes.

American propaganda undoubtedly took into account the positive connotations of the word "pacification" to achieve the desired result. It is known that the meaning of an individual sign depends not only on what facts and phenomena of reality it refers to, but also on what other signs it is associated with. The latter can reinforce its positive or negative connotations.

In the Roger's Thesaurus, built on the principle of ideas expressed in key words, which correspond to a whole range of concepts associated with them, next to the key word "*appeasement” are reconciliation, an offer of peace, an olive branch, a peace pipe, a truce, a cessation of hostilities, White flag.*

All these signs, which are included in the same semantic field with the word "appeasement", undoubtedly enhance its positive connotations.

The extreme cases of false denotation include the use of the word "restraint" by American propaganda. On May 8, 1972, in an address to the American people on radio and television, President Nixon declared: "Throughout the war, the United States displayed a degree of restraint unprecedented in the annals of war." How does this statement compare with reality?

It is known that the United States dropped as many tons of bombs on South Vietnam alone as they dropped during the Second World War in all areas where they fought; that the Vietnam War was the longest in U.S. history and fourth in terms of casualties after the Civil War, World War I, and World War II; that the Americans participated in the murder of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese and in the destruction of their territory.

Journalist R. Chris wrote in the Saturday Review: “Restraint?. Unfortunately, we have become accustomed to the misuse, abuse, and disuse of words. But this was an extraordinary case, even for a politician. I believe the President had in. mind that if we did not support the idea of invading North Vietnam, if we did not destroy the dams on the Red River, if we did not resort to nuclear weapons, if, in short, we completely devastated the country, we can congratulate ourselves on an unprecedentedly civilized behavior."

The false denotation of such terms could not always be kept secret, and then questions of semantics became the subject of discussion at the highest level.

This happened with the phrase "protective reaction". The term was originally coined in 1969 to refer to ground forces who were supposed to seek out and attack North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front formations in order to ostensibly prevent a possible attack.

Even then, he had nothing to do with defense, but meant a direct attack. However, this phrase reached its apogee after 1970, when it began to be used to describe the air war waged by the US Air Force in Vietnam. In 1971, according to Pentagon reports, aircraft made 129 "defensive reaction" sorties. In 1972, when Nixon officially announced that the United States, wishing to contribute to the success of the Paris talks, was refusing active bombing of North Vietnam, all sorties were carried out under the guise of a "defensive response."

In March 1972, the government of the DRV issued a statement stating that in February American troops carried out 139 bombing raids on North Vietnam, dropped more than 2,100 bombs, and fired about 200 rockets and shells. However, in the reports of the American press, these actions were called "protective reaction" or "routine limited duration protective reaction" (usual, time-limited, protective reaction). So, air raids were presented to the Americans as a tactical defensive technique.

The term "defensive reaction" completely lacks the aggressive nature of the action - attack, the destructive effect - bombardment, and the military nature of the actions is generally removed; on the contrary, there are purely peaceful, ordinary connotations.

When the nature of such atrocious bombings became impossible to hide, a kind of "scapegoat" was chosen - Aviation General D. Lavel, who was demoted and removed from his post for carrying out the bombing allegedly without the sanction of the command. However, during the Senate commission's investigation into the case of General Lavel in July 1972, he stated that he had reported the bombings to the command as officially sanctioned "protective reactions" (defensive reactions). The general believed that the

instructions he had received regarding the "protective reaction" implied this nature of the bombing and the command in Saigon knew about it, but nevertheless took his reports of a "protective reaction" for granted.

The general was removed for "poor knowledge of semantics", but the nature of the bombings did not change, and the term "protective reaction" continued to serve as a cover for them. An employee of one of the airfields, who saw all the reports of the pilots of the 7th Air Army flying to Laos, Cambodia, and North Vietnam, said that "after such flights, the pilots always wrote in their reports -" protective reaction ".

The practice of American official propaganda shows what a huge power the media owners have over the minds of people. It is they who determine how millions of people will see the world and what their reaction will be. The hero of L. Carroll's book "Through the Looking Glass" Humpty Dumpty said to Alice: "When I use a word, it means exactly what I want it to mean - no more, no less." “The question is,” said Alice, “can you make a word mean so many different things?” - "The question is, - replied Humpty Dumpty, - who is the boss - that's all."

Judging by American propaganda, Humpty Dumpty is right: the "master" determines what exactly this or that word should mean. That is why a peaceful fishing schooner, after it was bombed, is listed in official reports as a “waterborn logistic craft” (surface transport vessel), and dead domestic pigs or goats are “pack animals”, that is, supposedly those that were used Vietnamese patriots for strategic purposes.

False denotation is the simplest linguistic tool for manipulating public consciousness, but not very reliable, since a lie in its “pure” form is a dangerous thing, because exposure entails the possibility of losing confidence in the source of

information, which in turn drastically reduces the effectiveness of propaganda.

That is why bourgeois journalists make extensive use of more subtle methods, using various specific qualities of linguistic signs, which make it extremely difficult to expose lies.

One of such widespread methods of misinformation was the use of words related to a whole class of objects and phenomena. Their use has huge advantages over southern denotation, because there is no direct distortion of objective reality, therefore, there is no danger of exposure, and at the same time they do not make it possible to form a clear idea of a fact, event, or phenomenon, i.e., the effect of semantic fascination occurs. For example, the word "dishes" is much broader in meaning than the word "kettle". And if we call the teapot "dishes", it will be correct, however, a person who does not see what is at stake will not be able to imagine a specific object - a teapot, although he will get some idea about it. The same applies to abstract concepts. In the English language, words of broad meaning are extremely common, and American propaganda has successfully exploited precisely this quality for its purposes.

For example, the word "involvement", which American propaganda called its aggression in Vietnam, has a very broad meaning: implication, involvement, complicity, participation.

It covers a significant range of phenomena and is used to refer to the most diverse forms of participation in something. Since there is no similar word in Russian, its translation depends on the context in each specific case. In order to demonstrate the breadth of the meanings of this word, here are a few examples. (…)

Thus, verbal "packaging" reliably protects the content from all unpleasant associations, and at the same time there is no risk

of exposure, because, undoubtedly, any bomb and other complex weapon is a device, a mechanism, an adaptation.

American military propaganda tried in every possible way to present the actions of American troops in Vietnam not as offensive, but exclusively as defensive (the term "defensive reaction" has already been mentioned above).

Therefore, instead of the words "offensive" and "attack", the words of broad meaning - "operation" and "action" were used. In addition to the fact that the words "operation" and "action" are generic in relation to the words "attack" and "offensive", they have another feature that makes them more vague and indefinite, namely the lack of strong control.

Such a phrase: “We begin an attack on the enemy” sounds completely different than “We begin an operation in Vietnam”. The words "operation" and "program" also served as a cover for a number of the most brutal actions of the American military, for example, Operation Cedar Falls. Cedar Falls is the name of the genus in America). It involved 30 thousand American troops. The task is to destroy all the villages in the area of "iron triangle" in an area of 40 square miles. Troops entered the villages, the population was evacuated, houses and fields were burned.

Operation Phoenix” is a program for the systematic organization of assassination attempts on progressive figures in South Vietnam. On July 19, 1971, I. Colby, the head of this operation, stated that 20,587 suspects had been killed in the course of it and that the program of action was being expanded. "Operation Ranch Hand" (Operation "Agricultural Worker"), "Operation Sunrise" - they were all aimed at the brutal destruction of green areas in Vietnam so that the trees could not give green shoots for tens or even hundreds of years.

Thousands of Vietnamese civilians during the war were forcibly transferred to concentration camps.

These inhuman actions were called "Rural Construction Program", "Revolutionary Development Program", "Rural Development Program".

The word "program" in these contexts allowed it to play another important role - to create the impression that the Americans were not so much fighting in Vietnam as participating in its development in every possible way and helping in various aspects of civilian life. Thus, the use of words of broad meaning and generic instead of specific ones in propaganda is an extremely effective means of masking reality. The facts are reported, but the amount of information transmitted when using such words is practically reduced to zero, because instead of the concrete, causing certain images and associations, the undivided general appears.

Unlimited possibilities in the manipulation of public consciousness are given by the choice of one or another language symbol to designate a fact or phenomenon of reality (nomination), because most of the phenomena are multifaceted and allow for different interpretations.

Revealing the essence of the nomination, V. I. Lenin gives its definition given by L. Feuerbach; he says: the name is "a distinctive sign, some conspicuous sign that I make the representative of the object, characterizing the object in order to imagine it in its totality" .

When choosing this differential feature, there is a certain pragmatic attitude, which does not manifest itself in the act of nomination.

The social pragmatic aim of official US propaganda in covering the Vietnam War was to impose a distorted and

tendentious view of American aggression in this part of the globe.

Bourgeois propaganda also successfully uses another method - the choice of a secondary, insignificant differential feature in order to "represent an object in its totality" (inaccurately orienting nomination).

When American bombers dropped bombs on civilians in South Vietnam, this was reported not as "bombing errors", but as "guidance errors" (navigation errors), "misdirection" and "technical errors". Undoubtedly, the inaccuracy of guidance, and errors in the course of the aircraft, and technical problems are different aspects of the same phenomenon. But the main, defining sign in this case is that the bombing was carried out and the bombs killed civilians. But the word "bombardment" (bombing) in the official lexicon of the Pentagon propagandists was banned, instead they used1 a number of euphemisms: "protective reaction" (defensive reaction), "limited air strike" (limited air strike), "armed reconnaissance" (armed intelligence), etc. Speaking to reporters, Colonel D. Opfer, the US Air Force Attaché in Phnom Penh, said: “You write all the time - bombing, bombing, bombing. This is not a bombing. This is air support."

Another example of a falsely orienting nomination is the use of the expression "sanitized belt". It is known that in 1967, during a meeting between the presidents of the United States and South Vietnam, an agreement was reached on the creation of the so-called “sanitized belt” (“health belt”, sanitized area). The verb "sanitize" means to destroy dirt and pathogenic microbes, to provide or improve sanitary conditions, to ride. During the creation of such a “belt”, the population was forcibly evicted, all the trees were cut down, the land was cultivated with bulldozers, defensive positions were built with machine guns, cannons, and mines.

In fact, it was the creation of a "dead zone" to fight the Vietnamese patriots. And again, to represent the whole phenomenon, a false sign is chosen, moreover, it has positive connotations. As in the case of “technical errors”, here the attribute “sanitized” carries the main misleading load, while the defined word “belt” is the true denotation.

Exactly on the same principle, the names of the camps for the civilian population forcibly evicted from different villages were invented: “strategic hamlets (strategic villages), “resettlement centers (settlement centers), “New Life hamlets (villages of new life), “pacification center (peace centers). A journalist from The New York Times described the creation of these villages as follows: “People are rounded up, they are surrounded by barbed wire, and a “strategic village is ready.

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But they were not called that, because then the question would arise why the fight against the civilian population is being waged; in addition, the phrase "concentration camp" has too strong negative connotations.

The phrases “resettlement centers “strategic hamlets”, “New Life hamlets”, “pacification center” are devoid of such connotations and generally do not evoke any associations with war, disasters, violence, rather, on the contrary, testify to the “creative” role that the United States, according to American official propaganda, they played in Vietnam. It should also be noted here that in the combinations "resettlement center", "pacification center" the word "center" of a broad meaning, largely semantically emptied, plays an important role in reducing the amount of information carried by phrases. The combination of a falsely orienting nomination with the use of words of broad meaning undoubtedly increases the propaganda effect of these phrases.

The invasion of American and South Vietnamese troops into Laos in February 1971 was one of the hardest nuts for the semantics of American propaganda. The troops entered the territory of a sovereign state - this is an indisputable invasion. But Washington called it an "incursion" and officially objected to journalists regarding this action as an "invasion".

"Invasion" and "incursion" are words of the same synonymous series. Why was the obvious preference given to the second word? This noun is derived from the verb "invade", which means "to enter the country with armed forces in order to attack" (A. Hornby's dictionary); "invasion" - "the entry of the army into the country for conquest" (M. Webster's dictionary). From the verb "invade" you can form "invader" - "agent of action", or otherwise "aggressor".

The word "incursion" is interpreted as a surprise attack or invasion (not always for the purpose of permanent occupation). A. Hornby gives an example of its typical use: "The Danish incursions op our coasts in early times" (Dane raids on our coast in antiquity). The noun "incursion" has no corresponding verb and no agent of action.

In addition, it is related to the word "excursion" - which suggests that "incursion" is just a somewhat impolite form of "excursion", which does not sound as scary as "invasion".

Consequently, "invasion" and "incursion" are words that are close in meaning, but have a subtle semantic difference, on which American propaganda played, using the technique of an inaccurately orienting nomination. In addition, the absence of negative political connotations from the word "incursion" also helped to camouflage the aggressive nature of US policy in Southeast Asia.

The desire to reduce everything to everyday details, to remove the extraordinary nature of the situation can also be traced in the names that were given to various types of weapons. For example, the chemical defoliants that the troops used to destroy green areas in jungles were called “weed-killers” by military propaganda, that is, the same as those that Americans buy in their hardware stores were called, although the first could destroy the vegetation at a distance of 15 miles from the place where they were dropped.

In addition to full-fledged lexemes, American propaganda also makes extensive use of word-terms. Terms are inherently unambiguous and therefore carry the clearest and most specific information.

They contribute to communication between specialists in a particular field of knowledge, as they provide the best way to transfer information accurately and adequately. However, the

terms have another side: knowing their meaning gives one hundred percent information, ignorance - zero. That is why, when technical terms are used in politics, they hide the true nature of what is happening. At the same time, in propaganda, terms perform another important function - the mystical function of special words, which has been used by shamans, sorcerers and clergy since ancient times. The presence of special words in speech gives an aura of respectability and higher knowledge to people who use them, and inspires respect and trust in the source of information.

For a number of years, as already mentioned, American troops destroyed the nature of Vietnam, using a variety of means, from defoliants to napalm. However, their actions were called a very vague, but scientific-sounding phrase "Routine improvement of visibility in jungle areas" or "resources control".

S. Schanber, a New York Times journalist, wrote that officials in Saigon used a language that had nothing to do with ordinary English when they told reporters about the war. So, planes do not drop bombs and do not hit with missiles - they “deliver charges to the target” (deliver ordnance); napalm is referred to as "soft ordnance" (soft charge).

In addition, there have been attempts to replace the word "napalm" with other, unfamiliar, pseudoscientific terms, such as "naphtagel" and "incendagel".

Metaphors are also a specific form of nomination that is used to create images. Words have a certain expressive coloring.

We define the expressive component of meaning as “information about the emotional attitude (usually positive or negative) of the speaker to the property of the denotation, which the expressive word reports (information about this property constitutes its content).

For example, American soldiers called the Vietnamese "gooks", "dinks", and "slopes" (different words for "cross-eyed"), which indicated not only a certain property of denotation (slanting eyes), but also that the soldiers were Vietnamese with contempt, considered them racially inferior to themselves.

Like the Nazis, who called their victims "parasites", "lice", etc., American military propaganda used metaphors with a negative expressive coloring to describe the fighters of the National Liberation Front and with a positive one to show the "exploits" of their soldiers: ". .. Our tigers jumped from the helicopters into the VC hornet's nest.

Such methods of manipulating public consciousness had an impact not only on the external audience, but also on people who directly took part in the war.

The pilots who bombed the settlements of Vietnam did not talk about their actions as acts of murder, they called it a "job". So, one of the pilots of the B-52 bomber admitted: "You don't think that you are flying to kill someone. You say, "We got a job to do and let's go out and do it".

Another pilot said he often thought of his job as a long distance truck driver.

The use of various euphemisms when describing the actions of American troops in Vietnam actually led to the creation of a number of taboo words in the lexicon of American military propaganda. These include "war", "aggression", "bombing", "offensive", "concentration camp", "defoliants", "napalm", etc. President of the American Linguistic Society D. Bolinger wrote:

“America is the first society that has achieved a real taboo on everything unpleasant”, The study of the mechanism of manipulating public consciousness at the linguistic level allows us to conclude that the main means of this is a complex political euphemism, which is based on:

1. The use of broad words and generic words. Due to the fact that their semantics are greatly weakened, they represent extremely insignificant, general, vague information about the described phenomena, depriving them of specific, characteristic, differential features: involvement, conflict, device, action, operation, program, center, reaction.

2. Using positively connoted words to create false information about events: pacification, New Life hamlets, sanitized belt, protective reaction.

3. Using a layer of everyday vocabulary to remove the extraordinary nature of the situation and reduce all phenomena to everyday, familiar: baby-nuke, weedkiller, pineapple bomb, spider bomb, guava bomblet.

4. Metaphors as words with an expressive meaning for expressing a personal attitude to phenomena: gooks, dinks, slopes, tigers, VC hornet's nest.

5. The use of specific terms not for more accurate, unambiguous information, but for its complete concealment: routine improvement of visibility in jungle areas, resources control, soft ordnance, civilian infrastructure, protective reaction.

The study of various types of political euphemisms shows how skillfully bourgeois propagandists act in their activities to manipulate public consciousness, presenting the audience with a distorted picture of the world. The “Crooked Mirror” is created not only from big lies, but also from an abundant

amount of untruths, half-truths, common words, incomprehensible terms, pompous phrases.

Such a language creates a psychologically impenetrable barrier that separates people from real objects and phenomena. "I contend," wrote Congressman R. Drinan, "that if any statement by the US Department of Defense was made in some ancient language incomprehensible to anyone, we would know a little less about the true military policy and intentions of our government than we know now. As can be seen from this statement, such a propaganda technique justifies itself - it does not provide objective information.

Social connotations, their creation and functionality

One of the powerful linguistic means used by bourgeois propaganda to inspire and implement their social ideas is the creation of certain social connotations in a number of words. The study of social connotations is of interest from several points of view. First, it allows us to consider in detail how the class structure of society is reflected in a language and to analyze the socially determined variance in the meaning of linguistic signs.

Secondly, it provides an opportunity to explore the mechanism of manipulating public consciousness on a specific language material, which can contribute to the development of more effective methods of counter-propaganda. Thirdly, it is important for the development of socio-pragmatic aspects of translation, where certain social connotations are often not taken into account, which leads to incorrect translations.

Analyzing official US propaganda coverage of the war in Southeast Asia, we have already talked about the use of positive connotations to manipulate public consciousness.

But there it was about the prevailing connotations. A semantic analysis of bourgeois propaganda techniques made it possible to trace how certain social connotations are created and how they are fixed. For this purpose, the slogans of the propaganda election campaign that was conducted in Great Britain in February 1974 were studied, because during the elections all class contradictions sharply aggravate and propaganda goals manifest themselves most clearly and prominently.

Social connotations are formed and realized in certain specific historical conditions, so their analysis without a brief explanation of these conditions is practically impossible. The political situation in England at the beginning of 1974 was extremely difficult. On February 7, 1974, Prime Minister E. Heath announced the dissolution of the House of Commons 15 months before the expiration of its term. New elections were scheduled for 28 February. This government decision was an extreme measure resorted to by the Conservatives under the pressure of extraordinary circumstances, a serious economic crisis was brewing in the country, caused by the economic policy pursued by the Tories.

Having come to power in 1970, the Tories signed an agreement on England's entry into the Common Market, which had a negative impact on the standard of living of workers. Prices rose sharply, especially for foodstuffs, gasoline, housing prices increased, etc. An unprecedented deficit in the balance of payments in peacetime, the depreciation of the pound sterling, the introduction of a three-day working week - these are the main milestones of the impending crisis.

This process was accompanied by an open attack on the rights of workers, the essence of which was clearly expressed in the anti-trade union law “On Relations in Industry” passed through parliament.

The so-called anti-inflationary policy of the government, which froze wages, also hurt the interests of workers. A sharp struggle unfolded in the country on the social front. It culminated in the decision of the 270,000 miners' union to call a general strike, the first since the famous general strike of 1926.

Refusing to meet the just demands of the miners for higher wages and unable to avert the threat of a strike, the ruling circles of the country decided to cut this Gordian knot by calling elections. In his address to the country on television, E. Heath threw out a pre-election question-slogan: “Who rules the country, the trade unions or the government?” The question was aimed at blaming the country's economic woes on "intractable trade unions" in general and on the miners in particular. And besides, at the headquarters of the conservatives hoped to play on the dissatisfaction of the townsfolk with the miners' strike. It was presented as a "threat to democracy", "an attempt to lead England to anarchy and chaos." The miners' strike and the trade unions became the main propaganda targets.

One of the tried-and-tested methods of bourgeois propaganda is labeling, which was used by Fleet Street in this election campaign as well. This method serves to discredit an idea or a person in the eyes of the audience, to cause a negative attitude. In addition to the use of language signs with clearly negative meanings (eg extremists, anarchists, etc.), this is achieved through the deliberate use of neutral words in certain situations, as a result of which they acquire negative social connotations.

Bourgeois propaganda has already achieved that negative connotations have been fixed for the previously neutral words "communist", "red", "Bolshevik". And in this campaign, from the very beginning the Fleet Street press attacked the trade

union leaders, accusing them of being "Reds" and intimidating readers with the "communist" threat. At the same time, oppositions of differently socially and emotionally connoted words were constantly made, for example: voters must decide what they prefer - “democratic rule or chaos and a totalitarian regime”, “democratic rule based on rationality, parliamentary rule or chaos, anarchy, totalitarian or the communist regime.”

The positive socially and emotionally connoted words “democratic government”, “parliamentary government”, “rule based on reason” referred to the Tory government, that is, to the very government that plunged the country into the abyss of economic crisis, and the negatively colored words “ chaos", "anarchy", "totalitarian regime" - to the trade unions, which only used their legal right to seek higher air wages and did not put forward a single political demand.

During the propaganda campaign, these slogans were transformed in different ways and sounded like this: "Law and order as opposed to red anarchy."

In such slogans, from the unity of denotation + connotation, only connotation is essential, it carries the main information and performs a propaganda function, which here comes down to a “good-bad” reaction in relation to a certain political situation.

Thus, there is a conscious use of social connotations for the purposes of bourgeois propaganda, which V. I. Lenin defined as “to shout down, not to let the truth be heard, to flood everything with a stream of abuse and screams, to interfere with a business explanation.” *vol. 31, p. 217.*

However, the same "labels", such as "red", because they are used too often, lose their propagandistic power, and then bourgeois journalism creates new ones.

This happened with the word "militant". The Russian translation of “activist” does not quite accurately convey the meaning of this English word; its political coloring is lost in translation. D. Bowles, a progressive English journalist, defines "militant" as follows: "This is a person who has left-wing socialist views and is ready to work in order to promote them to the masses." In the 1950s, after massive strikes, Fleet Street launched a campaign against the shop stewards, who were accused of allegedly participating in a communist conspiracy. Then the words "activist" and "shop headman" became almost synonymous. In the 1960s, when student unrest and anti-war protests began, this term appeared again - this is how students were now called, and already with the definition - "hooliganism activists." Gradually, Fleet Street created the image of the activist as some kind of "malignant buzzer and hooligan."

In the 1974 election campaign, the term was again used to refer to miners' union leaders and other progressive trade union leaders, with negative connotations created by the gradual identification of the neutral "militant" with the words; with a negative connotation, such as "extremist", or with words that already have a socially negative connotation in a given audience, such as "communist". As a result, trade union leaders appeared in the propaganda campaign as "the extremists and the militants" (extremists and activists), "militant extremists" (violent extremists), "union extremists" (trade union extremists), "communists and extremists" .

So, using this example, it was possible to trace how the bourgeois press manipulates public consciousness, creating and assigning certain socio-psychological connotations to individual linguistic signs, and through speech influence organizes the activities of people in the direction it needs, in this case in support of the conservative government .

As A. A. Leontiev wrote, “acting through persuasion, we do not tell the recipient anything that he does not already know, but we present what he knows in a different light for him.” Let us consider from the point of view of semiotics another method of bourgeois propaganda, which was also widely used in this election campaign, the so-called "glittering generality" ("brilliant uncertainty"). If "sticking labels" is used to evoke negative reactions, arouse fear, hatred, etc., then the "brilliant uncertainty" technique exploits positive feelings and emotions. For this purpose, words associated with values accepted in a given society are used.

As a sign that performs communicative functions, let us consider, as before, not only a single word, but also an utterance, which can consist of one or several words. “In speech, not a word, but an utterance acts as a genuine full-fledged linguistic sign. The Tories began their election campaign with a call for "justice and reason", arguing that "England needs a strong government with clear powers". Their slogan in the election manifesto was: "Resolute action for fair Britain" (Firm action for fair Britain).

The lofty, understandable to everyone, evoking positive emotions, the words "justice", "strong government", "decisive action" lose their concrete sound from bourgeois propagandists. Justice for whom? To workers who legitimately demand higher wages? To a government DOES that refuse to meet their demands? Along with this, the Tories appealed to a sense of national pride, solidarity of people, speaking of the "spirit of a single nation" (spirit of opera nation), about "our free way of life" (our free way of life), which allegedly seek to destroy the "irresponsible" trade unions , about the possibility of "partnership between bosses and workers".

In this case, the main propagandistic function was performed by the positive connotations of words, and not by their denotations.

If, in order to create negative connotations for the word “militant” (activist), it was included in the same semantic series with the words “communist” and “extremist”, then in order to create positive connotations for the neutral word “moderate”, he was constantly opposed to words with negative connotations - "extremists" and "communists" in the phrases: "Voters must choose moderation or extremism", "Communists and other extremists as opposed to moderates", "Moderates against activists”.

Labor also made extensive use of the "brilliant vagueness" technique for propaganda purposes. So, in their slogans, they claimed that under E. Heath, voters would face “confrontation and conflict, and if the Laborites come to power, then there will be “reconciliation and a new social contract”, they called for “consent and cooperation of the whole people” (consent and cooperation of the people).

Consent, reconciliation, cooperation - whom with whom? In order to understand this, one must have a clear class consciousness, which bourgeois propaganda tries to obscure with the device of “brilliant uncertainty”.

Such phrase-mongering masks class contradictions and serves as a cover for the true aims of the bourgeoisie - to preserve the existing order by any means. Here, the propagandistic function is performed by a sign, in which the boundaries of the denotation are very vague and indefinite, since the connection between the signifier and the signified is extremely weakened, which can lead to the creation of language clichés and clichés in the future, because the cliché becomes a language stamp, which has lost its “information load, became

meaningless, insignificant for the recipient of information, in other words, it became dysfunctional."

An analysis of social connotations makes it possible to suggest that linguistic signs in bourgeois propaganda are often used specifically, not to convey certain information contained in the meaning of a word, but to have a certain emotional impact on the recipient. At the same time, in a number of cases, the main propagandistic function is performed not by the denotation, but by the connotation. These methods of bourgeois propaganda appeal not to reason, but to the feelings of voters, since "arguments containing such an appeal create a favorable atmosphere for persuasion, reduce the possible resistance of the psyche that arises for various reasons" .

It must also be emphasized that, once created, social connotations are extremely stable. This fact is noted by the American researcher H. Basmajian, who writes that "in Germany during Nazism, a number of words were destroyed, completely harmless words were used incorrectly and were said, as a result of which, after the war, the same words could no longer be used without that distorted meaning. given to them by the Nazis.

In addition to the internal form of the sign (denotation + connotation), its external form is also used for propaganda purposes: short, catchy, easy-to-remember slogans: "Fairness and reason", "Law and order versus Red anarchy", "Extremists versus moderates", "Moderates versus militants"; repeats: "The rule of reason, the rule of democracy, the rule of Parliament versus chaos, anarchy and a totalitarian or communist regime." Alliterations in slogans enhance their emotional coloring, contribute to memorization: "Firm action for fair Britain", "Moderate against militant", "Confrontation and conflict with Mr. Heath, with Labor condition and a new social consent and co-operation of the people."

Election propaganda messages, as a rule, meet all the requirements that apply to a slogan: "Slogans must be simple, have the capacity for endless repetition and variation, and have an emotional breadth that allows each individual to attribute their own values to it. When all these conditions are met, even shorthand: the sign can embody the whole program.

In its struggle for the minds of people, the bourgeoisie is looking for ever new ways to manipulate public consciousness most effectively. The technique of propagandist influence is being improved, huge resources of the language are actively used, various recipes for making "verbal bullets" are being developed.

Language, as a powerful political tool, plays a huge role in shaping, maintaining, and changing public opinion. Words make it possible to obscure and distort reality, give simplified explanations, cause fear, hatred, or, conversely, soothe, relieve discomfort. They can also reduce the ability to think critically and analyze reality. To be persuasive, words are carefully selected based on their intrinsic characteristics to create the desired propagandistic effect.

The use of political euphemisms, words of broad meaning, terms incomprehensible to the audience, emasculation of the political meaning of a word and replacing it with a neutral one, the widespread use of word connotations - these are some of the methods of verbal manipulation of public consciousness. Semantic processing of information has become a daily practice of the bourgeois media. The study of its techniques and methods is necessary for effective counter-propaganda.

In our time, a time of acute political and ideological confrontation, the struggle for a truly objective understanding of the essence, content of slogans, formulations, definitions, an

irreconcilable attitude towards linguistic disguise, which revisionists, and all kinds of dogmatists resort to in their statements.

Video footage on the line of bourgeois propaganda

N. V. Urina, R. I. Galuwko, R. Ya. Kotenok

Illustrations are the face of most bourgeois publications. A face that not only very accurately and vividly reflects their soul, but also shapes it to a large extent. Illustrations reign supreme on the pages of tabloid newspapers and popular magazines. The "mass culture" of the West, which is far from genuine art, owes a lot to them. Do not bypass their attention and other publications.

The only exceptions are a number of specialized magazines and even some high-quality newspapers such as the Parisian Le Monde. However, they can be considered devoid of illustrations if we do not take into account the ubiquitous advertising, without which almost no bourgeois publication can do. The concept of "illustration in print" is very capacious. Now it includes illustrations in the original sense of the word, i.e. photos and graphics designed to serve as a visual explanation of the text, and those that carry independent journalistic information and the text in relation to which has an explanatory meaning.

In the practice of modern printing, illustrations not only play an important role in the design of the publication, in creating its “face”, but also, being carriers of information, perform an ideological function.

Therefore, their consideration is possible both in the context of the content of the publication, and in the context of its graphic design. It should be noted that both of these approaches are

equally important for understanding the propaganda value of this or that illustration.

Bourgeois newspapers and magazines for the most part are full of illustrations of various types and genres. In figurative form, they tell about the most important events of the planet and cosmic distances, about sensational incidents of the day, about the lives of individual celebrities and entire nations. However, despite the breadth of the problem, the variety of types and genres of illustrative material, it is possible to single out a number of specific methods and techniques that bourgeois propaganda actively uses to manipulate the minds of readers. This chapter is devoted to the consideration of these methods.

The reasons for the widespread use of illustrative material in the bourgeois press are manifold. Features of the perception of "information in images", the effectiveness of its impact are inherent in its very nature. Such qualities as visibility and ease of perception make illustrations publicly available. Interspersed in the text, they have the ability to focus on themselves the involuntary attention of readers. But in general, their presence in the publication opens up great opportunities for manipulating the minds of readers. Thus, taking into account the strong impact and stability in the memory of illustrations, bourgeois propaganda widely uses them to create persistent emotional stereotypes in figurative form. Based on the uncritical perception of photographic information by readers due to their trust in its documentary nature, it often turns it into disinformation, and sometimes fabricates deliberately “figurative” lies. By offering readers surrogates for photographic and graphic literature in the form of comics and photo novels, bourgeois propaganda creates the appearance of readers' involvement in art and aesthetic satisfaction, thereby dulling their consciousness.

In the conditions of an intensifying ideological struggle, when bourgeois propaganda resorts to more and more sophisticated methods and forms of influencing the audience, it largely relies on the emotional nature of its products. To a greater extent, it is precisely this, and not the technical possibilities of modern printing, as some bourgeois researchers are trying to present, that explains the "visual" nature of bourgeois publications, which is often reflected even in their headlines. Therefore, in the selection of figurative information, the criterion of its emotional effectiveness becomes the main criterion. Ultimately, the most important question here is what emotions figurative information appeals to, what picture of the world it creates in the minds of readers. This issue becomes even more relevant due to the fact that many highly professional photojournalists and artists collaborate in the bourgeois press, whose works are reproduced at the most modern printing level. And this leads to the fact that the assessment of their work is often based on the identification of merits in terms of the form or quality of print and, to a lesser extent, in terms of its content.

Bourgeois newspapers and magazines are literally saturated with photo reports and photo essays, advertisements, cartoons, comics. However, there are such materials in print that rarely do without a photo. First of all, these are the so-called sensational ones. The photo is part of the sensational material by virtue of the fact that it turns any message that can be perceived as a rumor or gossip into a reality, into a fact. When it becomes a fact with the help of a photo, it is already much easier to make it either a deliberately inflated event, or a pseudo-event, that is, a sensation. This is one side of the matter. Another is that sensational materials most often deal with topics of "human interest", "eternal topics" - birth, love, death, etc. However, in the form in which they appear on the pages of the bourgeois press, it would be more correct to call

them topics of “philistine interest”, because cruelty and violence, erotica and pathology in human life are brought to the fore in them. And the photo in this case makes it possible for the layman, who is interested not so much in the event itself, its causes, and consequences, as in how it looked, that is, its external sides, to feel like an observer and satisfy his curiosity.

It is important for him to see how the event took place in order to feel like an eyewitness. His emotions will be satisfied that the catastrophe or murder did not happen to him, or, conversely, that the event (birth, marriage, etc.) occurs in the same way as it does for him. The circulation of mass magazines and tabloid newspapers convincingly testifies that there are still quite a few such inhabitants, diligently nurtured in the field of bourgeois society, in the modern West.

Undoubtedly, life is making its own adjustments to the practice of the bourgeois press. More and more people in the capitalist countries, faced with the serious problems of today, are looking for a way out not in oblivion of reality, but in real action.

This could not but be felt by the publishers of illustrated magazines and tabloid newspapers, which are usually called "journal d'evasion" ("leading away from reality") and in which it is the illustrations that occupy the overwhelming place, and the text only comments on them. In this regard, the interview of V. Buttafava, director of the Italian weekly Oji, which he has been running for more than 10 years, is very revealing. Forced to admit that the readership of this type of weekly has changed in recent years, he argues that this has also affected the content of the magazines. As an example, V. Buttafava cites the following fact: hen in 1947 there was a wedding of the English Queen Elizabeth 2, the issue of "Augie", the cover of which was dedicated to this event, increased its circulation

from 700 thousand copies. up to 1 million, when her daughter, Princess Anna, got married in 1973, the circulation increased by only 50 thousand copies. However, when asked by a correspondent whether information about stars and royalty would eventually have to be completely abandoned, Buttafava replied: “I think that the celebrity craze will never die, because there is an instinctive need to create myths, to identify oneself with characters.” This answer very precisely articulates what publishers of printed consumer goods are guided in their activities. (…)

Sensational photographs depicting victims of murders and catastrophes, suicides, disfigured corpses in streams of blood, are so numerous on the pages of bourgeois publications that this caused the appearance, as the French researcher P. Almasi writes, of a special type of photo illustrations, the so-called “ necrophotography”, which, according to him, is a “lucrative business” throughout the bourgeois world. Although photographs of this kind are capable of evoking a feeling of horror and fear, if published in large numbers, they become familiar and ordinary for readers and contribute to developing in them a sense of indifference to the grief of others. It should be said that both effects equally suit bourgeois propagandists.

Whatever topic the sensational shots are devoted to, they are given the most prominent place in the publication: in the newspaper the front page, in the magazine - the cover. Therefore, when some bourgeois researchers are inclined to form an idea of the “face” of the past year from the covers of magazines, it must be added that we are talking about the “face” of the year in the presentation of such and such a publication.

The covers of bourgeois magazines most often have a "human face" - in the sense that through the image of all the same celebrities - politicians, artists, gangsters, athletes, etc. - the

reader is presented with all the same "eternal themes", which then also once again played out on the pages of the magazine. Even in such cases, when a magazine or newspaper on the inside pages has good quality pictures on more current topics, they almost never get the honor of being published - on the cover or front page.

For example, in the issue of Europe, which was mentioned above, along with a photo report about a tragic incident at a car race, placed on the cover, there were photos for materials about the struggle of Indians for their rights in the USA, Q events in Chile, etc.

It is quite obvious how important its place in the issue and on the page, its dimensions, color are for illustration. These questions are always given great attention in the practice of the bourgeois press. The fact that sensational pictures are most often placed on the front page of newspapers and magazine covers was mentioned above. However, even inside the number, the photos are mainly arranged taking into account the fact that the picture in the upper left corner attracts more attention than the one on the right; that a photograph with the most insignificant plot is capable of focusing readers' attention on the message, distracting from more, perhaps, important information, but not accompanied by an illustration.

The property of figurative, visual information to stop on itself the primary involuntary attention is widely used by bourgeois propaganda precisely in those cases when it comes to sensational photos of an advertising nature. They serve as advertising for the publication when they appear on the covers and front pages; they are also advertising for those who are depicted on them, especially when it comes to politicians or actors. The law of the omnipotence of advertising in bourgeois society in this case also applies to people: their popularity and, ultimately, their career depend on it. Thus,

photography contributes greatly to the appearance of "stars" and "idols" in bourgeois art, sports, or politics, and then to the creation of myths associated with this or that person. For the sake of advertising, movie stars are ready to expose their intimate relationships to the public, and politicians are happy to advertise their family life. Photographs of an advertising nature and designed to create a positive image of those who own the sympathies of the publication, and a negative image of its opponents, are present in abundance on the pages of the bourgeois press. In the technique of their creation, practically all the same techniques are used as in commercial advertising, without which not a single newspaper or magazine in the capitalist world can do and cannot do.

Commercial advertising occupies a significant place in bourgeois publications; often 60-80% of the area is assigned to it. A huge amount of work is devoted to advertising and the effectiveness of its influence, it is studied by special services and institutions, numerous advertising agencies are engaged in its creation, among which the American ones occupy a leading place in the planetary world. (…)

According to many researchers, a woman has a special role in advertising: she is both the object and the subject of advertising. The boundaries of the “measure of nakedness” of the model are expanding more and more, the female body also becomes the object of advertising, and this leads to the fact that advertising turns into a kind of “contraband” pornography. Quite rightly, L. Pignotti wrote that "the basis of the erotic choice of advertising is a certain strategy." A strategy that aims to pull a person out of everyday life, to convince him that the capitalist way of life provides not only convenience and comfort (this is what the advertised product promises), but also sexual pleasure (this is what the advertised nature promises him). This trend is especially pronounced in

film advertising, which fills the newspaper pages. Modern Western film production is richly saturated with films whose obscenity has repeatedly been the subject of attention of those who are concerned about the decline of morals in bourgeois society. But film advertising invites the viewer not only with sex, but also with violence. Erotic scenes interspersed with shooting guns, pouring blood, faces distorted with horror - this is the face of film advertising, devoid of what it should represent, namely art.

Modern advertising, which largely determines the policy of bourgeois publications, is itself influenced by it and reflects it quite well. In a crisis, it becomes more difficult to sell govars every day, and therefore, advertising, for example, fabric, a smiling man urges customers to fight with him against price increases, or, advertising Xerox-4000, readers are reminded that due to the rise in price of paper especially good is this type, which copies on both sides of the sheet.

The advertisements feature various events. So. in the year of women, a perfume advertisement was accompanied by the following text: “This year, women look like women. This is the sorcery of their spirits."

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following text: “This year, women look like women. This is the sorcery of their spirits."

Advertising is invaded not only by events, but also by contemporary political figures.(…) … at the core of this kind of advertising is a fabricated photo in order to mislead readers, to associate in their minds a brand of wine with a famous person. This technique is widely used in the bourgeois press for propaganda purposes, not only in advertising.

The same can be said about reception, when the text does not match the image, and thus the information contained in it turns into disinformation.

From this point of view, the advertisement of Moskovskaya Vodka, which appeared in the magazine Epoka. Here is her text: “Without bread. Without milk. Without meat. Always with a gun and vodka. Closely associated with the brightest and darkest days, and especially with the fiercest battles for existence, for the Russian people, vodka seems to be something more than a simple drink. She is a symbol of his love for the plowed land and the sown bread. But also - to the weapon taken in hands and flying bullets. When it is necessary". How is this far from harmless text illustrated? a bottle of vodka and a photograph showing marching women dressed in male military uniforms with guns in their hands. This photograph, according to unknown authors, should convince readers that in Soviet Russia, even in peacetime, women not to mention the men, they never parted with weapons, which is confirmed by the caption under the photo: "Kyiv October 1925." (…)

The question of correlation between the photo and the accompanying text requires close attention. Most often, in newspapers and magazines, photos supplement their information with the text of an article, essay, notes, etc.,

besides, the pictures are accompanied by text. It is also possible to independently use a photo with text when the main information load falls on the image. However, in any case, the information contained in it, and the information available in the text, will be effective if they do not duplicate each other, but reasonably complement, creating a single whole.

Using the fact that the text should contain additional information in relation to the photo, bourgeois propaganda often replaces additional information with false information. At the same time, naturally, the task of misinforming the reader is performed by the text, not the image. Bourgeois propaganda in this practice goes further and further. It not only accompanies real photos with false texts and then builds her idle conjectures on this, but also does not disdain obviously fabricated staged photographic materials. For example, if the reader is convinced that such and such a person is depicted in the picture, but in fact it is not him, if the "specialist" photographer is staging some action, and the reader is assured that this is exactly what happened, then the lie is certainly embedded in the image itself.

Quite eloquent is the confession of the French researcher P. Almazi that "one can fill entire volumes with evidence of lies, admitted due to fabricated images or fictional texts to real images." P. Almazi. a person who is well acquainted with the practice of the bourgeois press has every reason for such a frank confession.

Not infrequently bourgeois photographic information uses such methods as half-truths and insinuations, i.e. neither the photo nor the text is 100% false. This is achieved by skillfully cropping the image. deliberately chosen angle, ambiguous text, etc. For example, if there are 10 people in line at the store, then the picture will give the impression of a long tail due to

the fact that the end of the line was cut off by the photographer when shooting and the photo is provided with appropriate text with a hint. Such a snapshot often achieves a greater propaganda effect than an outright text or a figurative lie.

For the purpose of disinformation, not only photographs with fictitious texts, deliberately staged photos, or photomontages, but also various collections of photographic materials can be used. Completing this or that collection, the editors have the opportunity, firstly, to make the necessary selection of photos, secondly, to arrange them in the sequence they need and, thirdly, to accompany them with text that would emphasize the main idea of the authors. An example of such a tendentious photo selection is published in Time magazine. (…) For propaganda purposes, the bourgeois press often uses the technique of not only inaccurate dating, but also the publication of photographs that have a "respectable age:., without indicating the date. Accompanying newspaper or magazine material on today's topics, they create a false idea about certain people or events. It is precisely this method that is especially characteristic of bourgeois propaganda in its coverage of contemporary life in the socialist countries.

The selection of photographic illustrations and their location are of fundamental importance even when the method of contrasting them is used. (…)

The authors of comics never explain the causes of cruelty, for them, as well as for readers, it is important how this happens, they are interested in the mechanism of sadistic and violent actions. Often they plunge the reader into a kind of emotional shock, depriving him of the opportunity to think and evaluate. To realize this and help visual means in comics. The standardization of the external features of the characters and

the well-worn stamps speed up the "reading" of comics and turn it into an almost mechanical action.

In this way it is achieved that comics become universal food, food for everyone, develop undemanding taste and omnivorous-ness of their readers. The drawing in the comics concretizes and simplifies the idea not only of the heroes who are fictional persons, but also of the real reality surrounding them.

Moreover, reality is deliberately simplified and distorted when it comes to defending the foundations of bourgeois society or fighting communism. Suffice it to recall the series about the "Green Berets", about the pilots with napalm operating in Vietnam, about the "Red Agents" and Russian submarines threatening the shores of America.

However, in comics idealize life in a bourgeois society, all serious unresolved problems look like “cute trifles” that you can laugh at. Series such as “Blondie” by C. Janra or “Lil Abner” by E. Kapp convince readers of the inviolability of the petty-bourgeois world in which the American layman lives and in which money and things rule. (…)

The politicized sex, cruelty and violence that fill the pages of bourgeois publications are causing increasing concern in progressive circles in the West, especially in terms of the impact of such products on young people and children. For the younger generation, the "black series" of comics are becoming visual guides for murder and violence. If we add to this a huge number of pornographic publications, advertising with an admixture of eroticism and advertising of weapons, then the fate of the younger generation, whose energy bourgeois propaganda seeks to direct by all means in the direction it needs, looks truly catastrophic. (…)

The wide use of various pictorial means in the bourgeois press and its inherent visual character largely contribute to the emergence and consolidation of ideological stereotypes.

In creating stereotypes, the visual image, emotionally colored, plays an important role. Its stability in memory, especially with frequent repetition, has clear advantages over verbal. Visual images concretize in a simplified form the main ideological theses of bourgeois propaganda. These visual images are created by the constant use of a number of video stamps that can be found in photographic information, in advertising, in comics, etc. Thus, there are visual stamps of a 100% American: a strong man with a courageous face and a dazzling smile, who advertises whiskey or cigarettes with equal success, searches for criminals or fights in Vietnam in comics, subdues women in photo novels, or calls to vote for this or that candidate in election campaign time.

The symbol of female beauty is no less standardized: busty blondes abound in advertisements, comics, and illustrations in women's magazines. These standardized people, surrounded by commodities and things that define their prestige and dignity, should create in the minds of readers a collective visual image of successful Americans. In turn, such an image, combined with a similar image in a conceptual form, which is also based on verbal clichés, leads to the creation of a complete ideological stereotype of a person in a “prosperous bourgeois society”. (…)

Powerless to halt the growth of the prestige of the Communist Parties in the countries of the West, bourgeois propaganda and its masters once again launched anti-communist stamps. With the help of such clichés, the bourgeois press seeks to reinforce in the minds of the people the image of communists who allegedly threaten the "free" capitalist world. The bourgeois press is just as active in creating racist stereotypes,

planting images of "fierce, lazy, treacherous", always with the repulsive appearance of Africans, Indians, or Arabs.

Widely using all types and genres of illustrative material, bourgeois propaganda with its help actively influences the emotions of readers, creates ideological stereotypes. Illustrations give readers a figurative picture of the world, and if you try to characterize it in general, then, on the one hand, it will be realistic in its repulsive cruelty and indecency, in the triumph of philistinism and vulgarity in bourgeois society, and on the other, it will be largely distorted, since many events and facts of reality either do not find their reflection in it, or appear reflected in the crooked mirror of bourgeois propaganda.

The impact on the audience of figurative information, of course, is not limited to the press. She got her new birth on television. Its development brought great dynamics and efficiency to photo illustration.

In addition, frames from the television screen began to appear on the print pages, and photographs began to be used on television, and not only in those cases when there was no filmed film of one or another event, but also when in a moving stream of frames it was necessary to stop the attention of viewers on what something face or details.

Undoubtedly, a static image on the pages of print, accompanied by text, and a dynamic image on a television screen, accompanied by live speech of characters, narration, music, or other noise design, have a number of specific possibilities, each of which finds its own special use in the practice of bourgeois propaganda.

Television screen in the system of manipulation of public consciousness

R. Y. Kotenok

Numerous special studies conducted in various countries of the world show that television plays a leading role in the modern system of mass media and propaganda. For millions of people, the television screen has become the main source of information and knowledge of the world around them. It is not surprising, therefore, that the monopoly bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries regard television as the most important propaganda tool and use it more and more actively to strengthen their ideological and political positions. At the same time, the specifics of the TV screen, its properties of influencing the audience of viewers are successfully and skillfully used. This is exactly what will be discussed.

Even at the dawn of the development of television, it was noticed that television information is perceived differently than the same message printed in a newspaper or read on the radio. And this is due to the fact that, getting acquainted with the information in the press, the reader knows that it has passed through the prism of perception, and hence the opinion of a certain reporter.

And what the viewer sees on the TV screen is perceived by him directly and directly. The "presence effect" is triggered - the TV viewer becomes, as it were, not only a witness, but also an accomplice of this event, due to which he perceives information with immeasurably greater confidence than reading it in a newspaper or hearing it on the radio. After that, should we be surprised at the results of polls conducted in different countries and equally indicating that television is recognized as the most objective mass media. For example, a survey conducted in Germany at the end of the 60s by a group

of researchers from the G. Bredov Institute in Hamburg showed that the vast majority of the population considers television to be “the most fully informing” (58.8% of respondents), “the most understandable presentation of policy” (65.8%) and giving “the most reliable information about the program and goals of political parties (57.6%).

True, in the 70s, West German citizens began to assess the media more critically in the country, and in particular television, as evidenced, for example, by the results of an extensive study conducted by the Munich sociological institute Infra test in 1970-1974. According to the data obtained, the number of those who believe that television "informs political events in the most clear and understandable way" decreased from 67% in 1970 to 59% in 1974 remains in Germany for the majority of the audience "the most authentic", "the most reliable", "the most independent" and "the most important" of all mass media.

Television wins such trust to a large extent by making the viewer a witness to important events of a political and state nature. Thanks to him, the Americans saw the funeral of D. Kennedy, the murder of D. Ruby Lee H. Oswald, the death of R. Kennedy, astronauts visiting the Moon and much more. The British repeatedly visited the royal palace in the same way, attended various celebrations, where they had the opportunity to see the queen and members of her family, as if they were their simple acquaintances. West German television regularly broadcasts meetings of the Bundestag. With the help of television, Italians are constantly present at the liturgical masses of the Vatican, meet on the television screen with the Pope and other high-ranking ministers of the church. All these events always attract the attention of the population of these countries. However, the desire of monopoly circles to involve, "bring" the viewer to social and political life is far from

disinterested. All this is intended to give the viewer the illusion of his participation in the government of the country and in solving important state affairs.

A similar super-task is faced by numerous political television magazines, willingly offering their pages to prominent statesmen who, confidentially, being with the audience, as they say, face to face, set forth their views, that is, the views of the ruling parties. Watching the battles of representatives of various bourgeois parties on the TV screen (which basically come down to an exercise in eloquence, as was the case, for example, in the election duel of candidates for the presidency of the United States in 1976), the viewer is often inclined to perceive them as a manifestation of "democracy", "pluralism". " capitalist law and order."

However, capitalist "democracy" has very limited range. Even on West German television, which by its status is a "public-legal" organization (that is, not commercial, as in the United States, and not state-owned, as in France). "The understanding of democracy," wrote the West German communist newspaper Unsere Zeit, "does not extend so widely as to give equal rights with other parties to express their views."

Thus, on the eve of the Bundestag elections in 1972, the two main West German television programs officially divided the total air time for the election campaign among the parties as follows (in minutes):

SPD/SVDP 37,5

CDU/CSU 37.5

GKP 5.0

But these figures only reflect directly the official campaign broadcasts, or so-called commercials, and do not take into account, for example, the fact that the Chairman of the DKP

was not at all admitted to the discussions with the participation of party leaders on television, each of which lasted two hours. The discussions were broadcast on both television channels and attracted an audience of forty million. The German Communist Party did not get the opportunity to present its program in the four hour-long programs "Germany on the Eve of the Elections" (on Channel One).

Similarly, the time on the pre-election television screen was distributed in 1976. For direct self-promotion, party leaders of the SPD, FDP and CDU / CSU were given 140 minutes. Representatives of the PCU were only entitled to four two-minute speeches. In total, the leaders of the bourgeois parties were given during the election campaign of 1976, according to the calculations of the Unsere Zeit newspaper, about 1,500 minutes of airtime, and the West German Communists - the only party that opposes big capital, for the expansion of workers' rights - only about 9 minutes. Needless to say, the distance is huge. “Equal opportunities, as required by the constitution,” writes the Unsere Zeit in this regard, “are out of the question.”

The manipulation of public opinion with the help of television channels is carried out purposefully and flexibly, and the specific properties of television are used in such a way that the viewer does not suspect that he is facing an event seen through the eyes of a reporter, cameraman, editor, and other people responsible for the release of the TV show. For informational and socio-political broadcasts of bourgeois television, a deliberate game of objectivity is characteristic (we, they say, only register the facts - the conclusions are up to the viewer). In reality, this is just a trick aimed at replacing objective information with information "organized" in a certain political aspect, pleasing to the manipulators.

American sociologists Gladys and Kurt Lang analyzed one of the typical TV reports and revealed the technique of its creation. We are talking about the broadcast in 1952 of an enthusiastic meeting by the residents of Chicago of General MacArthur, who returned from Korea, where he was the commander-in-chief of the US troops. Mixing with the crowd of those meeting, Langi and their assistants found out that 48% of those present came, or rather, stopped, passing along the street, out of simple curiosity, 42% had little interest in the event as a spectacle, and only 9% came to express their admiration to the general . However, in the way the event was presented on television, admiration was overwhelming and predominant. The Langs noted that the television cameras would drive past and not take in the lens of those who did not applaud, detaining their attention on people who expressed their delight. Most of those present at the event felt bored and regretted that they did not stay at home to watch what was happening on television. Those who sat at the television screens, seeing the general rejoicing, regretted that they were absent from the scene. Thus, the appropriate interpretation of the event caused not only a false impression among the viewers, contributing to the incitement of militaristic feelings, but also the so-called “expectation effect” - it seemed to the viewers that if they were at the meeting place, everything would look even more interesting.

The method of conducting such reports is typical not only for American television. Similar examples can be found in the practice of television in any bourgeois country.

However, television can "provoke" feelings not only of joy and general jubilation, but also of all-encompassing anger and rage. (…)…It is clear that the "grand", "emotional" spectacle was created to arouse racist and chauvinistic moods among the population. Of great importance in this kind of reporting is

the placement of accents in the video sequence… So, in order to intimidate the layman, television resorted to falsifying reality in a live report.

In addition to the "effect of presence" on the viewer, two more important properties of television have a great impact - the pictoriality, the visuality of its material and the emotionality of the spectacle. These qualities essentially distinguish television information from newspaper and radio information. It is true that a newspaper may publish a photograph or an illustration, but it is not comparable to film or video footage. Not to mention the amount of information received through the film - film frames that take a few seconds can convey information to a person in a more vivid form than a few pages of printed text or a photograph - the film has another advantage: it captivates a person emotionally.

The viewer sees the facial expressions of the characters on the TV screen, events unfold in front of him that cause him to respond: anger, annoyance, joy, etc. Of course, radio also has the ability to emotionally involve. But it lacks entertainment. But there has long been a saying that it is better to see once ...

The very nature of television has created the prerequisites for a stronger impact on the multimillion masses. Therefore, let us consider how the specific features of television - visuality and emotionality - are used for propaganda purposes.

Already in the selection of this or that plot from the point of view of its "telegenicity" (i.e., suitability for the television screen), the main, determining principle is the setting of an ideological nature. Fulfilling the social order of the ruling circles, bourgeois television journalists prefer materials that somehow affirm the ideology of the ruling class, directly or indirectly advertise the moral values of bourgeois society, or are a strong distraction designed to take viewers away from

pressing problems. Leading among these are materials of a sensational nature (catastrophes, murders, robberies, etc.), which, as a rule, open information releases.

Stories of this kind are developed with great care - they are accompanied by many interviews, a report from the scene, etc. At the same time, the desire for sensationalism very often leads to a distortion of the main content of the story about the event. D. Hewitt, the producer of the American socio-political series 60 Minutes, who is also its director, frankly declares: “I want to pack reality as attractively as Hollywood producers pack fiction. I don't like breaking the news. I love doing it." (…)

The personalization of facts as a way of manipulating public opinion is characterized by the fact that genuine socio-political information, causal relationships of socio-economic processes occurring inside or outside the country, the alignment of forces in the international arena are reduced to the statements of individuals. For example, the implementation of important state acts is interpreted as something that depends almost on the mood of this or that statesman. It is not surprising, therefore, that the most frequently encountered type of informational messages is nothing more than a presentation of the statements of famous people on a particular issue or speculation around these statements.

Emphasizing the power of suggestion of "neutral", "purely informational" television messages, the West German publicist G.-K. Röglin writes of his experience as a viewer: "We believe we know everything there is to know, but in fact we hardly know anything, because we are not at all capable of incorporating this incoherent flow of information into our lives."

There is another aspect of personalization, which consists in the fact that this or that socio-political transmission is identified with a certain person, i.e. in this case, not facts (or rather, not only facts) are personalized, but the information itself..(…)

The role of a person in the frame, reading an informational message or commenting on events, is extremely large. In bourgeois television, the trend of the so-called "objectivity" of the presentation of information material has firmly taken root. To this end, messages in the releases of the latest news are read outwardly impartially, neutrally, with emphasized indifference to the meaning of the text. However, in the arsenal of an announcer, presenter, or commentator there is always a whole range of means by which he expresses his point of view, or rather, the point of view of the ruling class on a particular event. Among such means, the ability to control one's voice and intonation is of paramount importance. (…)

As a result of such manipulations, the viewer is offered information that has received a certain ideological coloring, corresponding to the general policy of the ruling circles. The American researcher R. McNeil comes to the conclusion that in the method of presenting information there is a whole set of different nuances that are invisible to the viewer, such as the obviousness and emphasis of a particular message. Thus, at one time in daily messages from Vietnam, the order of reports on the results of recent battles, the semantic emphasis on positive and negative, was of great importance. The priority reports of commentators about the initiative of the American troops and the impressive number of Vietnamese killed created the impression of a successful advance, while the reverse order of presentation of the material - the successes of the Vietnamese and the number of Americans killed - had a

negative effect and had a depressing effect on the psyche of television viewers.

In addition, as the American sociologist R. Sirinov notes in his book “Don't Blame People,” certain verbal clichés have long been established in bourgeois television, in particular American television, which are used to create a certain stereotype. In the arsenal of the well-known commentator L. Brinkley, for example, such expressions as “vociferous screamers”, “bloody tactics”, “terrorists”, etc. , "red threat", "red terror". All of them apply only in relation to the ideological opponents of the bourgeois system, i.e., primarily to communists and representatives of progressive forces. Professor R. Lifton of Yale University, a specialist in psychiatry, believes that such verbal clichés "help to mentally dull people's minds."

Despite the predominance of entertainment and visibility in television, the role of the word in it not only does not decrease, but, on the contrary, increases. This is due to the fact that, say, a newspaper reader or radio listener, without having. opportunity to verify the veracity of the material reported by him, is forced to take it on faith.

The viewer, in front of whom everything unfolds "in reality", is looking for some additional information, messages in the commentary. Therefore, the importance of television commentary is increasing - it does not just introduce information and does not just explain, it makes the viewer see what is happening on the screen in a certain aspect. Depending on the commentary, the same action can be understood and evaluated in different ways. It is precisely this feature of television commentary that is widely used by bourgeois propaganda. Appropriately chosen words and expressions give the appropriate political tone to what is happening on the TV screen. This is especially evident in the

reports. While participants in anti-war demonstrations tended to be given not very plausible epithets like "hippies", "long-haired", "hooligans", etc., completely different expressions could be heard in reports about demonstrations in support of government policies. (…)

However, the commentary is not always so straightforward and frankly falsified, especially in those cases when the events on the screen are quite obvious and without words. In these cases, there is a certain maneuvering in order to somehow smooth out the effect of what is seen on the screen. (…)

When creating the "image" of a political figure, the main emphasis is on three factors: spectacle, emotionality, and intimacy. As for the first, both facial expressions and the facial expression of the “hero”, and his mannerisms are used here. It is believed that the viewer is interested in everything.

Appeal to emotions is an extremely important psychological attitude in the political struggle. (…)

A special place in television election campaigns belongs to political advertising. Both visuality and sound are equally used here, designed to appeal to the same emotionality of the audience of TV viewers. Here is one such example: a little girl plucks the petals from a flower, counting them in a confused voice. She is interrupted by a sonorous male voice: "Ten, nine, eight, seven ... one" - an atomic explosion plunges everything into darkness. A voice is heard offscreen: "Vote Democrat!" This commercial was used in the 1964 election campaign between Johnson and Goldwater. The call to vote for the Democrats and thus for Johnson was associated in this case with peaceful life, while the atomic explosion was associated with the coming to power of the Republicans, and with them Goldwater, who opposed the ban on nuclear tests. Such well-constructed advertising, appealing to the legitimate desire of

the people for peace, contributed to the success of the Democrats and strengthened their position.(…)

Summarizing what has been said, it must be emphasized that all the techniques and methods of bourgeois television propaganda are aimed primarily at the ideological processing of public consciousness. The television screen is used by the monopoly bourgeoisie to maintain and strengthen the foundations of the capitalist system and its hierarchical institutions. The main thing that guides the creators of television information is the ideological attitudes received from the powers that be. in accordance with which the selection of information is carried out that meets a certain propaganda purpose, installation, which allows you to quietly place additional semantic accents in the general flow of messages. formulation of informational text and commentary using ideological stereotypes. And all this offers the viewer a ready-made opinion, a biased assessment of this or that social phenomenon, which hinders a critical analysis of reality. Reports and interviews, which occupy a very important place in television information, are also subjected to a kind of "organization" and processing in order to give them the necessary ideological connotation.

In television broadcasting, the personality of the presenter and commentator plays a special role, on whose behalf the success of the program and the degree of its perception by viewers largely depend. Both the professional skill of the commentator and his physical abilities - voice, facial expressions, gesture, etc. - all this is carefully used in ideological chains.

Despite such important advantages of television as entertainment, emotionality, etc., it attaches great importance to the word, its ideological function. The combination of image and word is the basis on which the propaganda orientation of television information is built.

Thus, it should be noted that the flow of information material to be shown on television is always passed through the filter of bourgeois ideology, through the filter of the opinion of the ruling classes, and therefore the main contradictions of the capitalist system never reach the television screen, and therefore, to the viewer.

Big lie technique

Y. Y. Orlov

The concept of "big lie", which is mentioned in the "Introduction" to this monograph, was established in connection with the propaganda practice of the German fascists. It was formulated by Hitler in Mayi Kampf. But the "Fuhrer" presented this formulation as the result of observations of the propaganda of the opponents of Nazism. Therefore, during the years of the Second World War, in the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition, it was given in a truncated form of instructions to the Goebbels "technocrats", which, in the final analysis, it was.

The English Lord Maugham, in his anti-Hitler pamphlet Lies as an Ally, quoted this formulation as follows: “A big lie always has a certain power of plausibility, because the broad masses of the people ... in their primitive innocence are more likely to fall victims of a big lie than a small lie, because they themselves often lie about trifles, but would be ashamed to resort to big lies. It would never occur to them to fabricate colossal fabrications, and they cannot even think that others could have the audacity to distort the truth so shamelessly.

Fascist propaganda apparatus

The fascist agitation apparatus was unprecedented in history. Whatever is said about analogies in other countries, including those that had or have ministries of a similar profile,

researchers do not consider sufficient evidence of their complete identity with the infernal machine of mass influence created in Nazi Germany. It is all the more necessary to note this because the Nazi propaganda machine arose on the basis of completely traditional organs of the social and state mechanism - the propaganda department under the leadership of a political party and the press department under the government of the country. Under the conditions of fascist domination, these organs gave rise to monstrous metastases.

It is considered a fact that it was Goebbels, and not Hitler (although the Fuhrer was the first agitator and remained for the entire period of Nazi rule I the first authority in this part in the NSDAP) who initiated the creation of the propaganda system of Nazism such as it turned out to be. Hitler believed that his government would be satisfied with the Ministry of the Press. Goebbels did not hesitate to object to the "Führer" on the grounds that this would be "perhaps too limited an area." It was only as a result of such conversations that the concept of the Ministry of Propaganda with its "total" field of activity arose.

Goebbels did not fail to note then that the structure of the ministry exactly repeats the structure of the department of imperial propaganda of the NSDAP. However, he needed this mention only to justify the inclusion of the press in the new ministry, since a press subsection also existed in the propaganda department of the NSDAP.

The latter was also led by Goebbels then. Thus, from March 13, 1933, when there was a figurative ministry, he began to control both the party and government propaganda apparatus at the same time. A certain division of labor arose between them, although a certain intersection of competencies was not completely eliminated. The Ministry carried out the development of the content of all kinds of propaganda actions,

and the propaganda department of the NSDAP ensured their mass participation. For example, for huge gatherings with the participation of Hitler, the ministry developed their most detailed scenarios, while the NSDAP propaganda department acted as if in the role of "damage", directly providing for the mass actions provided for by such scenarios. Mainly along the party line, the reaction of the masses to various campaign actions was studied.

The ministerial director of the Goebbels ministry, G. W. Müller, in a special brochure published in 1940, proudly emphasized that for the mass events in which Hitler participated, scripts were prepared, scheduled to the minute. The synchronized dynamism of such actions was, of course, designed to impress with the spectacular presentation of the notorious slogan "One Empire, One People, One Fuhrer."

But completely different tricks were introduced, for example, into the practice of Nazi radio broadcasting abroad. His editors deliberately staged all sorts of "overlays" in order to gradually assure the listener that he was dealing with completely unsophisticated, touchingly clumsy people. “This desire to create the impression of a spontaneity of the situation,” noted during the Second World War, “is especially characteristic of Berlin broadcasts to Asia, Africa, and America. With the onset of the war, it became apparent that a deliberate attempt to create an atmosphere of casual gaiety and camaraderie in the studios in the presentation of foreign audiences was undertaken by the Germans in the hope of instilling in listeners from countries not yet involved in the conflict a love for

German programs and announcers. One of these tricks was the comical exchange of lines of announcers in the studio. The announcer, having made some mistake, jokingly said something about this to his colleague. (…)

Oral propaganda channels at the provincial level were especially widely used to spread all sorts of fables. It was in this connection that the American K. Ries identified Nazi agitation with persuasion ("persuasion, that is, propaganda"), emphasizing, for example, how Goebbels and Bormann, during the approaching catastrophe on the Volga (in December 1942-January 1943), agreed that that "persuasion" should be increased by means of unfulfillable promises and false forecasts: "Speakers traveling around the country should speak more often, should speak sharper, should promise more, should portray the final victory as a matter of the near future." (…)

The extent to which the Nazis succeeded in indoctrinating foreign journalists was shown, for example, by the pro-fascist books published in London in the 1930s by W. Price, a Rotermire journalist from the Daily Mail. which Goebbels achieved secondment to the German consorts in foreign capitals. In addition, already in the mid-1930s, through various methods, and primarily bribery, the Hitlerites created a literally worldwide network of publications inspired by them, including 307 newspapers. In a very sophisticated way, the Nazis influenced a foreign audience without the mediation of foreign journalists. This was served by a system of "black" radio stations, posing as the

mouthpieces of the "opposition" in various countries. Judging by the available fragmentary information, it was very mobile, constantly changing under the influence of developing circumstances.

In July 1942, Goebbels expressed the opinion that "black" radio propaganda had become obsolete, just as leaflets had become obsolete in the internal political struggle back in 1932. Nevertheless, out of the 11 “black” radio stations available at that time, he ordered only 4 to be liquidated. Of the 7 remaining, one broadcast to the Soviet Union on behalf of ... the “old Leninist guard”.

The latest idea of Goebbels in this regard was the Werwolf station, created literally in the last weeks of the war. Calculated to deceive her compatriots, she spoke in the name of the mythical Svemetsky resistance movement. "Informational" texts for her, based on "poetic liberties", were composed even by Goebbels himself.

Within the advertised activities of the ministry, special attention was paid to daily press conferences, or rather, briefings for journalists. These briefings, which were held twice a day, were required to be specially accredited representatives of all Berlin, as well as the largest provincial newspapers. They were held by the highest-ranking employees of the ministry and were of an authentic nature. Records made during the briefing, as well as pre-printed instructions given to journalists, were to be destroyed or returned to the ministry for use. In addition, the editorial offices of newspapers and especially magazines were regularly supplied with circulars by means of communication. This whole

system, from which the Nazis in principle did not make any secrets, was so fine-tuned that one of the responsible employees of the Reebbels Ministry, already during the Second World War, allowed himself a public statement that the German press, even during the war, was able to abandon that preliminary censorship, which in the ostensibly so "free" democracies of the West has led to the fact that newspapers must come out with large white spots on the pages.

Foreign journalists accredited in Berlin could attend press conferences three times a day, one of which was hosted by Ribbentrop's Foreign Office.

An exceptionally powerful body developed under the Nazis, official radio broadcasting, both domestic and international. As early as December 1925, Goebbels ridiculed the home radio as "the ideal of the philistine." But a few years later, it was he who achieved the widest introduction in Germany of a cheap "people's receiver", which practically did not differ much from a loudspeaker, since he could not receive foreign stations. At the same time, the persistent "liberalism" of the concept of "a radio in every home" was neutralized by the fact that the Germans were obliged to listen to the broadcasts of large Nazi gatherings in areas equipped with loudspeakers or in large rooms. Television, which originated in Germany in the 1930s, was also focused exclusively on group viewing (and not only because of the then technical and economic circumstances).

In the field of hanging abroad, the Ministry of Propaganda worked closely with the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs, just as it cooperated in certain areas and with many other departments of the "Third Reich". Wehrmacht propaganda activities deserve special mention in this regard. Just as the Goebbels Ministry of Propaganda was the only one of its kind, there was nothing equal to what arose in the late 1930s in the Wehrmacht under the name "propaganda troops." The basis of these troops was the so-called "propaganda companies", mobilized from persons who were required to be equally good at both proper journalistic (literary, radio, photo, or film reporting) skills, and all kinds of military weapons. The latter circumstance was especially important when covering the actions of aviators, tankers, sailors of torpedo boats, etc., since, for example, the crew of a combat aircraft could not afford the luxury of taking on board a single superfluous person who would only be an observer of what was happening.

But one should not present the matter in such a way that the “propaganda companies” acted in proper company formations, as is the case in rifle and other subunits. Each "propaganda company" was attached to an entire army. Its military personnel acted individually or as part of compact groups at a great distance from their other direct colleagues.

The "propaganda companies" were called upon not only to serve the means of mass influence of the Nazi Reich, but also to conduct agitation directly in the units and formations of the Wehrmacht, and also to provide psychological treatment of the troops and population of the enemy. In the latter respect, among these units, the

“propaganda platoon” under the separate corps of General of Aviation (and a prominent orientalist concurrently) Felmy (corps “F”) was quite special.

Considering that 6,000 soldiers and officers of the “F” corps, intended to invade the Middle Eastern countries and further, up to India, half knew one or another foreign language, it was already in terms of personnel - in addition to being excellently equipped with tanks, artillery, and aviation - was a unique special propaganda unit. As for the “propaganda platoon” attached to him, his equipment included a mobile printing press with a set of Arabic fonts, and his contingent included Arab compositors, as well as qualified Arabic announcers.

The highest point in the development of the “propaganda mouth” was 1943, when they, in fact, were singled out as a special branch of the military. Their total number at that time was approximately 15 thousand people, while the average contingent of the "propaganda company" was 115 people. Goebbels owed the success of his favorite offspring, the weekly newsreel, to the Propaganda Troops.(…)

In the eyes of historians, these briefings visibly embody a degree of concentration and unification of the propaganda efforts of the Hitlerite clique that goes beyond any imagination. But the arsenal of Nazi agitation over time acquired the character of a labyrinth, where even those few to whom it was assigned by the state lost their permanent status. Hitler sometimes fell victim to the optimistic "information" gleaned from the foreign press by Ribbentrop's officials, not knowing that

it was only a fake launched by Goebbels' agents. The Minister of Propaganda himself once found his wife reading a translation of a charlatan article that was circulating in Germany on the lists, “promoted” by his agents to the same foreign press and then planted in an illegal form by the inhabitants of the “Third Reich” (in this article, a certain astrologer and “clairvoyant predicted future military successes for Germany).

These cases only underscore the perniciousness of the pretentiousness of the Nazi agitation apparatus, whose first multimillion-dollar victim was the population of the whole country, in the name of which it was allegedly created.

Methodology of Fascist Agitation

Goebbels and his entourage loved to brag about the success of their agitation, but avoided publicly talking about their methodology, even at the level of individual examples. The scientific pamphlets published in Nazi Germany on the psychological prerequisites for Nazi successes were of an abstract drum-apolothetical character and, at best, only repeated the well-known postulates of Maya Kampf.

As for foreign studies that appeared before the end of the Second World War, their certain imperfection lay in the fact that they were largely hypothetical in nature. The situation changed when researchers gained access to captured documents and manuscripts of various institutions and figures of the "Third Reich". This created the opportunity to compare the publicly available products of Nazi agitators with the secret plans and developments on the basis of which they were produced. The actual methodological side of Nazi agitation received the most systematic coverage in the

monograph "Publicism in the Third Reich" by V. Hareman, in the article by the American L. Doub "Goebbels' principles of propaganda", in the dissertation of the modern West German researcher J. Hareman "Guidance of the press in the Third Reich".

A number of articles on Nazi agitation have been published in recent years by a scientist from Tomsk, A.E. Glushkov, and he limited himself to its foreign policy aspects. Regardless of the fact that such a limitation is most likely explained by the subjective thematic setting of the author, it should be noted that objectively, the smallest prerequisites have been created for studying the internal political agitation of the Nazis, because internal political aspects, although they were touched upon in the works of individual Western authors, including aforementioned, have not yet found sufficient reflection in the actual documentary publications, covering mainly the military-propaganda aspect.

That is why the following examples in this chapter are primarily related to this aspect. In general, however, even on the basis of published documents, one can firmly conclude that the Nazi clique fought with agitational means against its own people in the same way as against other peoples.

The "Big Lie" was realized by the Nazis in the form of worldview myths and concrete-event fabrications. (…)

Entirely standing guard over capitalist property, they tried to streamline it under the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism.

Of course, scientific argumentation for such theses was simply contraindicated. And she was ignored, and quite deliberately. “It is not always the one who is right who wins, but sometimes the one who has more patience,” Goebbels stated in a letter to the caricaturist Mjolnir, treated kindly by him. -

Christ did not provide any evidence in his Sermon on the Mount. He only made assertions. Things taken for granted do not prove. These are principles that always apply and cannot be disregarded with impunity."

Where the Nazis tried to create the appearance of argumentation, it could not but be imaginary precisely because it rested on the presentation of scientifically dubious statements as "for granted". After National Socialism was nevertheless punished, the "imperial chief of the press" O. Dietrich admitted: "Hitler knew how to introduce false or extremely vulnerable premises already into the starting points of his speeches, so that then, relying and based on them, to prove to the listener who perceived them what he wanted to prove to him ... "It is not difficult to notice that this testimony of Dietrich describes one of the fundamental methods of suggestion.

The relationship between worldview myths and concrete-event lies was such that, on the one hand, concrete-event lies were more easily assimilated by consciousness already "rinsed" with worldview myths, and on the other hand, such a lie (no matter how blatant it may be) from the point of view of formation , or rather, the deformation of the worldview was not as detrimental as worldview myths.

The last feature was noted during the war years by a prominent expert on Nazism, the American W. Shearer. Analyzing the methods of the Nazi newspaper for American prisoners of war "O-Key-Oversy Kid", he considered its short-term goals of undermining the morale of captured Americans by hushing up the successes of the anti-Hitler coalition on the fronts and emphasizing the unfavorable situation in the United States itself were not as important compared to the long-term ones. that, by hammering the basic stereotypes of the Nazi "worldview" into the holons of the prisoners, to

create - even in the event of the defeat of the Nazis and the return of the captured Americans to their homeland - such a situation when "the seeds of Nazism can sprout across the ocean and ultimately help them (the Nazis. -Yu. O.) to return to the political proscenium in Germany and in Europe.

The dominant role of ideological myths was also manifested in the fact that they inevitably pushed the Nazis to the conscious daily fabrication of concrete-event fabrications, and the big lie about the big lie was Hitler's solemn assurance in the Berlin Sports Palace on February 12, 1933: "Here is our first program point : we don't want to lie, we don't want to cheat." Shearer noted that in the very first issue of the above-mentioned Nazi newspaper for American prisoners of war, an article about the so-called "people's car" was placed. Among the measures by which the Nazis sought funds for accelerated armaments was the "people's car" scam. Hundreds of thousands of German families made regular contributions to this car, which they were never destined to. was to get. The author of the article for prisoners of war not only presented it as a reality, but also stated at the same time: ""I could make a lot of propagandistic capital on the "people's car". However, I will not do this and confine myself to strictly objective data.

Establishing contacts with new audiences through assurances of sincerity and objectivity can be seen as one of the original devices of the Nazi propaganda technique.

As a prerequisite for mass agitation, many figures and departments of Nazi Germany widely practiced "**lies for a narrow circle**" in the form of confidential messages, and it was used **not only to misinform foreign intelligence services,** as it might seem at first glance, but also to **deceive their own people.**

An illustration of the last moment can be Goebbels' statement at a briefing on September 11, 1940 that during the British raids on Germany from May 10 to September 10, not even 1,500 died, as was mentioned somewhere, but only 617 people, but this figure cannot be published , because in London so many people die from German bombing for Svtki.

The minister hoped that through his closest associates this "confidential" statement would become the property of optimistic rumors among the German people. At the same time, even those close to Hitler sometimes did not know about his real plans. So, O. Dietrich, whose task was to inform the German press first-hand about the intentions and actions of the "Fuhrer", stated in his memoirs that, having no "access to confidential and secret military meetings", about the German invasion of Austria in March 1938, he found out, already sitting in one of the cars that were part of the convoy of close escort of Hitler 3; that Hitler's trip to the front of hostilities against France, which unfolded on the morning of May 10, 1940, for him, Dietrich, began on the evening of May 9 as a trip to Hamburg to inspect a shipyard; that he knew about the plan of attack on the Soviet Union only from rumors, which he then “stigmatized as a political crime against German-Soviet relations determined by agreement” and “strictly forbade” dissemination to his employees.

Goebbels was in advance informed not only of the plans for the invasion of France, but also of the "Plan Barbarossa", for the successful implementation of which he did at the briefings in early June 1941 - at first glance, the same thing as Dietrich - refuted the running assumptions about the upcoming attack on the Soviet Union, and on June 19 declared: “The Führer has decided that the war cannot be brought to an end without an invasion of England. Operations that were planned in the East have been cancelled." On April 13, 1940, shortly after the Nazi

invasion of Norway and Denmark, Goebbels ordered that “no official apparatus, news agencies, etc., should ever be used to send false reports”, that “the source of lies should immediately be masked”, that “ the radio and the press in one's own country should not compromise themselves at all with such a lie" that "only channels going abroad" are suitable for it.

From the last of these rules (which was far from always observed before), the Nazis had to refuse more and more often as the chances for military success disappeared. But the polishing of the technique of disinformation continued, as can be seen from the special instructions for authoring false reports prepared in July 1942 for employees of the Ribbentrop Foreign Ministry. From the point of view of masking the source of disinformation, "black" radio stations served as a very convenient channel for the Nazis. A specific form of using radio was broadcasting on the wave of the enemy. So, during the fighting in the Ardennes, Nazi agitators "launched" a falsified interview with the British Field Marshal Montgomery on the BBC wave.

False leaflets were also thrown into the enemy camp. At a briefing on April 22, 1942, Goebbels ordered, along with the organization of allegedly English radio broadcasts to France, in which it was necessary to emphasize what destruction and victims the opening of a second front would bring on the French, to study the question of sending supposedly English leaflets to France with similar content. The idea for one such leaflet came from Hitler himself. The text of the sketch read: “French! When in 1940 we left your land (through Dunkirk. - South O.) with unspent forces and full confidence in victory, we did this with the thought of you and that your beautiful country would not suffer further destruction and that you there was no need to make further sacrifices in the struggle for

our common cause. Now the whole burden of the struggle lies only on our shoulders. You can count on us to endure the war victoriously. We are counting on you to continue to be on our side."

With great sophistication, the Nazis used confidential oral forms of communication, through which legends and rumors spread. As can be seen from Goebbels' diary, for example, he specifically relied on the dissemination among the people of "genuine legends" about his raids in the quarters of Berlin bombed by British aircraft. The Minister of Propaganda prudently believed that there was no need to report this in the newspapers: "That's better, oral propaganda works here." And at the briefing on October 24, 1942, he gave the order to spread among the people a rumor about the use by the Germans of "unheard of effective weapons" in Stalingrad. A month later, there was talk that German tank flamethrowers appeared in Stalingrad, capable of throwing six-story houses into a sea of fire and above, and that there the soldiers of the Wehrmacht used for the first time an automatic machine with a rate of fire of 3,000 rounds per minute. With all these "accurate" details, it was pure fabrication.

At the same time, the Nazis tried to create an aura of mystical otherworldliness, omnipresence, and infallibility around the mass media. It was not in the nature of the Nazis to educate the people, say, about how a newspaper is made, how a radio broadcast is prepared, etc. At a briefing on June 9, 1940, Goebbels blasted the weekly Dn Vohe, which published a photograph of a gramophone record from which fanfare call signs were broadcast, anticipating special radio messages about particularly spectacular military victories: "He (Goebbels. - Yu. O.) demands notify the press that in the event of a repetition of such a thing, he orders that the editor guilty of the criminal disenchantment of national events (der slch des

Vergehens der Deslllusionieruni; natlonaler Vorgange schuldig macht) be sent to a concentration camp, no matter what it was about, cinema, radio and etc. .... The minister will not stop before ordering the arrest of the censor, who once again misses such a disenchanting picture.

At the same time, the authority of the press and radio was maintained by insuring false reports with truthful ones, and more precisely, those that readers and listeners could more easily believe. W. Shearer noted that the effectiveness of the materials of the newspaper for American prisoners of war "O-Key - Overseas Kid" increased after Nazi agitators began to reprint articles by American authors in it. Observers in the West suggested that Goebbels simply lost his mind when, after the Stalingrad catastrophe, the German population was informed of something about its magnitude. These observers did not know then that Goebbels had made a special trip to Hitler's headquarters with a proposal to tell the people "the whole truth" about Stalingrad, but only in order to lie even more shamelessly in the future. At the same time, by recognizing the extent of the catastrophe at Stalingrad, the Nazis wanted to push the ruling circles of the United States and Britain to think about what “a danger Bolshevism poses to the entire Western world.”

It is no coincidence that just at that moment Goebbels launched a broad anti-communist campaign, calculated to split the anti-Hitler coalition. He certainly relied on the vitality of anti-communist prejudice in the West. In this regard, it is necessary to note once again the instrumental role of worldview myths. For people brought up on mystical ideas, he had to slip all sorts of crude event analogies, clothed in the form of historical references. At the final stage of the war, confusion before impending retribution forced Hitler and

Goebbels to "study" historical literature in search of comforting analogies to German history.

In April 1945, Goebbels, stepping out in front of the officers of a Nazi formation, assured them that a miracle like those that happened in German military history was about to happen. Returning to Berlin, he found on his desk a telegram announcing the death of Roosevelt, which he took as the "miracle" promised to the military. A special form of concrete-event lies was the giving of a false meaning is indisputable…… The vile methods were used by the Nazis to "organize the facts", which were intended to demonstrate the "civilizing" mission of Nazi Germany and the "love" of the peoples for her. At the trial in the case of the atrocities of the Nazi invaders and their accomplices on the territory of the Krasnodar Territory, it was noted that once "the population of the city was announced by the German command that several thousand captured soldiers of the Red Army would supposedly be led through the city and that the population was allowed to help them with food .

In this regard, a large number of residents of the mountains of Krasnodar came out to meet them, taking with them gifts and food, but instead of Soviet prisoners of war, cars with German wounded soldiers were sent towards them, and photography and filming were immediately made, which, according to the plan of the German provocateurs , was supposed to illustrate the "meeting" allegedly arranged by Soviet citizens for German soldiers.

A special form of attributing a false meaning to indisputable facts was Goebbels's idea to transmit elementary instructions on civil defense to England through a "black" radio station, but in this case to whip up details in such a way as to make the British doubt in advance the possibility of withstanding the destructive impact of German bombing.

W. Hageman, describing the method of distorting facts in Nazi propaganda, notes that it was used mainly in “positive” propaganda of Nazi “achievements” by injecting gigantomanic superlatives and, to a lesser extent, in “negative” propaganda, where gross humiliation dominated, culminating in abuse .

During the Second World War, the Nazis widely used "Greuel propaganda", that is, "propaganda of atrocities", allegedly committed primarily by Soviet soldiers. At the same time, Goebbels openly stated at his briefings that any exaggerations and falsifications are permissible here. The appearance of fake photographs of German women and children, mutilated corpses, etc., has become the norm.

This method of intimidating its own population directly echoed the method of demonstrative intimidation (bluffing) abroad through "organized" facts. V. Hareman noted that they include "those types of falsifications that lie outside the actual journalistic space, but acquire their meaning and content only in their journalistic impact." (…)

V. Hageman also notes such a "favorite military trick" of the Nazis as "anticipating expected events through not yet confirmed, but possible and plausible reports." However, he only considers situations in which there has been an attempt to mitigate the shock impact of unpleasant events through forward reporting, roughly what is called "breaking the news" in English.

But for the Nazis, it was no less characteristic to use anticipatory messages of optimistic content - a technique that merges with bluff. It was this form that Hitler preferred, to whom, for example, the authorship of the unconfirmed report of October 10, 1941 about the fall of Moscow is attributed.

Back in September 1939, the Nazis twice reported the sinking of the British aircraft carrier Ark Royal, once by torpedoes, and the other by air bombs. When the official notification came from the British that the Ark Royal had arrived in Cape Town, Goebbels turned to the representative of the German Navy at his regular briefing with the question of how to respond to this message. The representative of the Navy replied: "Unfortunately, I have nothing to say about this, Mr. Reich Minister, because the Ark Royal was sunk by the Ministry of Propaganda, not us." (…)

Immediately after the war, the reactionary bourgeois "political scientists" began to revise the views on Goebbels' agitation that had previously been expressed in the camp of the Western allies in the anti-Hitler coalition. At the same time, they acted as epigones of its technique, which they began to study in order to "reject communism."

Along with anti-communism, the most essential feature of Goebbels' agitation was its arch-militaristic character. It was expressed primarily in the fact that the Nazis wholly and in all cases of life reduced their propaganda to specifically military forms of its application. That is why Goebbels' methods are now and then seen in the current practice of regimes based on extremist-minded military. Indeed, the concept of "big lie" and the practice associated with it, unfortunately, have not become only the property of the past to this day. Suffice it to point at least to the myth of the "Soviet threat", re-sung by reactionaries and political adventurers of all stripes for the sake of an unrestrained arms race, which is precisely the greatest threat to peace, to the people of the entire planet.

Struggling to defuse international tension, the USSR in recent years has demonstrated and continues to demonstrate in a particularly diverse way its service to humane ideals in the field of cultural exchange and the media. In the difficult

situation of the struggle against the adherents of the "cold war", those actions of representatives of foreign journalism, publishing, cinema, etc., are valuable, which benefit the strengthening of trust and friendship between peoples. Only on this path can the “big lie” be irrevocably made a legacy of the past.

Conclusion

Goebbels' system of "big lies" perhaps most fully conveys the essence of the activities of the bourgeois press, but today, as a rule, bourgeois propagandists tend to act not as straightforwardly and openly as Goebbels did.

They try to disguise the lie more carefully, to give it all the signs of plausibility. Nevertheless, the false essence of their propaganda betrays itself, and even bourgeois researchers are forced to admit it.

In 1973, D. Wise's book "The Politics of Lies" was published in the United States of America, where the main attention was paid to the methods of deceiving Americans through the press and television, which, being in the hands of the American government, serve as a tool for manipulating public opinion, and its technique in its own way essence is very close to the one that Goebbels used during the Second World War (the facts from the chapter "Anatomy of deception" - about the coverage of the Vietnam War by the American media - are very revealing in this respect).

Although bourgeois journalism today renounces the fascist technique of the "big lie", this does not prevent all theorists from calling Goebbels almost the father of modern bourgeois propaganda theory. Hence the numerous publications in the West, and above all in the United States of America, of

Goebbels' diaries and books devoted to his propaganda campaigns.

In modern practice, bourgeois propagandists are forced to reckon with the fact that radical changes have taken place in the world since the defeat of Hitlerism, and the technique used by Goebbels can hardly produce the effect today that the owners of the information and propaganda complex of capital countries are counting on.

Hence the desire for external credibility, which helps "to sell, as American bourgeois propaganda theorists like to put it, but simply put, to instill in the minds of the audience any theses, concepts, views pleasing to the owners of the press, no matter how false and far from the truth they may be.

Of course, it would be wrong to indiscriminately accuse all journalists working in the bourgeois press of deliberately deceiving and misinforming the audience. Sober-minded people can also be found among them, but at the same time, at least two circumstances must be borne in mind. First, in the world of capital, politics is made by monopolies, in whose hands is real power. The general policy of the press is therefore determined by those to whom it belongs; and if the views of a journalist do not correspond to the interests of the owners of the printed organ and he defends his views, he is either not published or otherwise excluded from participating in propaganda activities designed for a mass audience.

Secondly, one should keep in mind such an important circumstance that if we take the whole information and propaganda complex of capitalist countries, it turns out that the individual decency or conscientiousness of this or that author is by no means a sufficient criterion for a correct assessment of the real, objective ideological the meaning of the true consequences of his work.

The power of the monopolies practically eliminates the personality of the bourgeois journalist. And even if he punctually reproduces what he saw, heard, or recorded on tape, then in the hands of the media owners, in the hands of those who manage the media on their behalf - publishers, editors-in-chief, all this is transformed and included in the general a stream of ideological production pleasing to the masters of the capitalist world.

In addition, it should be emphasized that the bourgeois journalists in the overwhelming majority and in their essence are obedient suppliers of the goods needed by the owners of various publications. It is no coincidence that V. I. Lenin called bourgeois journalists "public men": the system of bourgeois media and propaganda makes them such, where the decisive word belongs to the owners of information and propaganda concerns.

In the West, they like to talk about the ethics of a journalist, but in reality this ethics is determined by his position as a hired employee in the editorial apparatus. Ultimately, the owner, publisher, editor-in-chief thinks and makes a decision for him.

Today, bourgeois journalism is trying in every possible way to disguise its manipulative nature by talking about changing the style and methods of its work. For this, a number of new terms are put forward, which should give it professional respectability. Bourgeois theorists love to talk about interpretive reporting, investigative journalism, precision journalism. The authors of books that are devoted to the presentation of these concepts seek to prove that journalism should interpret the world, serve to investigate various aspects of social and economic life, achieve accuracy in working with facts, with statistical data, with materials from public opinion polls. But at the same time, they separate these

concepts from understanding the laws of development of the bourgeois world, give them a purely technical character, and as a result, they introduce the style of interpretation, investigation and precision that affirms the views and class positions of the bourgeoisie.

In essence, the authors of such advanced concepts do not teach the ability to see the real, true picture of life, on the contrary, in practice they teach skillful juggling with facts, the technique of creating the appearance of truth.

Many leaders of the bourgeois press even provide a theoretical basis for the right to disseminate unreliable, unconfirmed, and simply false information. This is evidenced by the materials of the discussion at the National Press Club in Washington in June 1975 on the freedom of the press. Calling newspapers part of the free enterprise system, a marketplace for free ideas, the panelists referred to the First Amendment to the US Constitution, freedom of the press. From their reasoning, it directly followed that a lie is also an idea, and freedom of the press is the freedom to trade information of any kind, as long as it brings profit, regardless of whether it is dependable or based on rumors, conjectures, is doubtful from an ethical point of view. Thus, in practice, bourgeois conceptions of freedom of the press justify the use of, as one of the participants in this discussion1 put it, a plausible lie if it is in the commercial interests of the propagandist business. But it's not just about commerce. Hidden behind commerce is the class character of bourgeois journalism, its dependence on monopolies.

Bourgeois journalism tries to disguise its class character, its dependence on monopolies and bourgeois governments by creating the appearance of discussions, the expression of many opinions in the press, on radio and television. In practice, all of them are carried out within the framework of the interests of the bourgeoisie, and if certain contradictions

appear in them, then these are primarily intra-class contradictions.

And in this case, as a rule, critical statements from bourgeois positions are concentrated in the so-called high-quality publications, which are published in small circulations and are intended mainly for managers. As for the mass tabloid press, it differs only in zealous attacks on progressive figures, on advanced ideas.

Thus, despite the apparent diversity of opinions in the bourgeois press, all its publications are unanimous in defending the domestic and foreign political interests of big capital. Of course, we are not indifferent to the positions of various sections of the bourgeoisie, where, along with the ultra-right, conservative and neo-fascist, there are sober-minded figures who are forced to recognize the real power of socialism and progress in the modern world. But all this does not change the basic, main thing in the activity of bourgeois journalism - its class character, which is revealed even in those discussions that take place between various bourgeois press organs, and sometimes even in those attacks that bourgeois newspapers are subjected to by certain political parties, or any other bourgeois government.

Behind this opens the struggle of various groupings within the bourgeoisie. And the discussions themselves actually turn into the appearance of discussions, the very political chatter that is designed to mislead readers, radio listeners, TV viewers, to disguise the one-party, class character of bourgeois journalism, its unification in protecting the interests of big capital, in distorting the true picture of the development of the world.

This political masquerade is an integral part of the methods of disinformation and deceit, which are adopted by the

information and propaganda complex of the capitalist countries. The system of methods of imperialist propaganda used by specialists in "psychological warfare" has one goal, as L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in the report "On the draft Constitution (Basic Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the results of its nationwide discussion", "to prevent the growth of the influence of socialism on the minds of people, to sow distrust and hostility towards him by any means. Hence the stereotyped inventions, shameless falsifications and outright lies about the Soviet Union, counting on the poor knowledge of the audience, on gullible readers, listeners, spectators.

Bourgeois propagandists, striving to carry out what the progressive American researcher G. Schiller called the manipulation of consciousness, base their method of influencing the audience on abusing people's trust in external credibility, trying to kill the truth with the appearance of truth. Behind the palisade of photographs, television shots, a stream of little content and unimportant messages, the bourgeois media and propaganda hide the true face of the bourgeois world. They fill the minds of millions of people with theses, slogans, myths, stereotypes that create the illusion of knowing reality, but in fact fence off a person from the realities of the modern world, from the realities of the development of the world revolutionary process, which inevitably leads to the collapse of capitalism, and with it to the collapse of journalism, which is in the service of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state.

Understanding the technique of disinformation and deceit, which underlies the activities of the mass media in the countries of state-monopoly capitalism, not only helps to resist the impact of imperialist propaganda, but also helps to cultivate intransigence towards bourgeois ideology.

MYTHS OF BOURGEOIS JOURNALISM

Introduction

Y. N. Zasursky

Considering the activities of bourgeois journalism, its place in the system of state-monopoly capital, the structure of the bourgeois information and propaganda apparatus, its methods of misinforming the masses, manipulating their consciousness, it is necessary to identify those ideas, ideological postulates that bourgeois propaganda inspires with the help of stereotypes, various kinds of insinuations, half-truths, falsification of statistics, etc.

Bourgeois journalism, stuffing its readers with spiritual poison, is not limited only to those specific goals and tasks that its masters set before it today - to achieve the subordination of readers, listeners, viewers to the existing monopolies.

Along with daily agitation for politics determined by big capital, it affects the worldview of its audience, instilling bourgeois consciousness in the minds of people, therefore, it performs what we call the propaganda function.

An analysis of the speeches of the bourgeois press, radio, and television makes it possible to identify the main attitudes, theses that they introduce into consciousness in the political, ideological, moral, and ethical spheres, as well as how they influence the education of the feelings of their audience.

If we talk about political education, then bourgeois journalism, whatever its specific tasks and goals, proceeds. from the concept of anti-communism. Even at the dawn of capitalism, in the era of bourgeois revolutions in England and France, the carriers of communist ideas, expressed in a

utopian form, Winstanley and Babeuf were subjected to severe persecution by the bourgeois authorities. The birth of scientific communism in the works of the great geniuses of mankind K. Marx and F. Engels caused a new bout of anti-communist hysteria in the camp of the bourgeoisie, which has not subsided for a century and a half. G. Weert in the poem "Today I went to Düsseldorf ..." 130 years ago, on the pages of the New Rhine Gazette edited by K. Marx, ridiculed anti-communism in the middle of the 19th century in this way:

Today I went to Düsseldorf,

My neighbor is a respected adviser, -

About the "New Rhine" starting a conversation,

He scolded very frankly:

"The editors of this trashy newspaper -

Devilish dangerous pack:

They are not afraid of God at all,

Nor Zweiferya-prosecutor!

As a remedy for all earthly troubles

They want first

proclaim a red republic

With property full section.

Divided into tiny pieces

The whole world will be them forever:

On a handful of earth and sand - the whole firmament,

On small waves - the sea.

Everyone will receive for their own pleasure

A piece of our planet

Editors get the best

From the New Rhine Gazette...

They will also take up the women's issue,

Immediately canceling all marriages ... "*Selected works in 2 volumes, vol. 1. M., 1957, p. 97.*

The arguments of the enemies of communism ridiculed in this poem are primitive, but nevertheless they have been repeated and repeated in a slightly updated form by bourgeois propaganda: it is enough to recall the insinuations of bourgeois newspapers regarding the generalization of women in Soviet Russia and similar crude fictions.

Anti-communism assumed its most disgusting misanthropic form in the guise of fascist propaganda.

Today, bourgeois journalism comes out under the slogans of outright anti-communism, tries in every possible way to compromise the ideas of communism that attract the masses of the people, and daily implants anti-communist theses into people's consciousness. The most obvious example of this kind of propaganda was presented in January 1978 by US leaders who issued statements calling for the Communists not to be allowed into the governments of Italy and France.

In modern conditions, anti-socialist propaganda, a distorted image of the life of the peoples of the socialist countries, also occupies a significant place in the system of bourgeois propaganda.

One of the main directions of anti-communist propaganda is anti-Sovietism. The six decades of existence of the Soviet state have proved the strength and invincibility of socialism. The successes of the Soviet Union have contributed and continue

to promote the development of the national liberation movement, the anti-monopoly movement in the capitalist countries, and the growth of the might of the socialist community. Bourgeois propaganda seeks to isolate readers from the ideas of genuine democracy, from the liberation ideas of our era, by slandering the Soviet Union.

Thus, by systematic anti-communist, anti-socialist, anti-Soviet propaganda, the bourgeoisie seeks to deprive the masses of a real revolutionary perspective, to subject them to the influence of their ideology.

The propaganda of nationalism serves the same purposes, which is called upon to divide the peoples in the struggle against capitalism, and above all to disarm the working class, the working people, by opposing their national interests to international tasks and interests.

A characteristic feature of bourgeois propaganda is the inculcation of racism. The heirs of Hitler's myth of the superiority of the Aryan race are today the Ku Klux Klans, and disgusting racist propaganda in a slightly disguised version is carried out by the American bourgeois media. They are not far behind the extreme right-wing bourgeois publications in England, where the racist campaign was led by the leader of the Conservative Party, M. Thatcher.

Modern preachers of racism and misanthropy seek to divide the working people according to the color of their skin and hinder the growth of the national liberation and anti-monopoly movement. The inculcation of racial hatred, as a rule, is closely connected with the propaganda of militarism and armed actions against developing countries. An example of this is the racist speeches in the American bourgeois press during the Vietnam War.

The goals of disorienting the masses of the people and subjecting them to the influence of monopolies are also pursued by militaristic propaganda, which instills in the peoples the need for arms and war, ostensibly for national interests, but in essence for the interests of capital. This propaganda is combined with anti-communist campaigns, with their false theses about an imaginary "Soviet threat".

It is no accident that the leaders of bourgeois journalism are so sharply and openly opposed to any attempt to ban military and racist propaganda. In doing so, they refer to the notorious "freedom of the press". It was precisely with such demagogic arguments that US representatives justified their speeches against the adoption by UNESCO of the Declaration on the Use of the Mass Media in the Interests of Peace and International Understanding and the Fight Against War Propaganda, Racism and Apartheid.

Thus, the most important political and ideological guidelines of bourgeois propaganda contradict the real interests of the working people, they are designed to prevent a person from realizing his place in the political, class struggle, his place in the world.

The propaganda of racism, nationalism, militarism, anti-Sovietism, anti-socialism, anti-communism is accompanied by calls for "class peace", the so-called social partnership, "people's capitalism", words about the unity of interests of capitalists and workers. All these appeals very clearly reveal the class character of bourgeois journalism and the political and ideological myths it propagates in order to consolidate the rule of the monopolies, for in practice "class peace" means the capitulation of the working people to the capitalist class.

Bourgeois ideology is also introduced through those moral and ethical norms that bourgeois journalism propagates.

Among them, in the first place is the propaganda of individualism, the inviolability of private property. The main postulates of individualism are concentrated around the protection of private property.

These are the so-called “human rights”, which in fact turn into an empty phrase for the workers, a formal excuse, a cover for real lack of rights, and for the capitalists, an informal right to decide their fate for the workers.

Propaganda by bourgeois journalism of individualism also develops in the spread of the spirit of acquisitiveness, prosperity, the pursuit of wealth. This is a reflection of the process of introducing bourgeois ideology into the minds of people already in the sphere of life attitudes. At the same time, bourgeois journalism promotes the cult of consumerism, the cult of things that, roughly speaking, “commodify” human feelings.

This process of human alienation takes on the most ugly forms in the form of a consumerist ideology, a consumerist attitude to life that turns a person into a slave of things, the possession of which is widely cultivated by bourgeois propaganda.

And here the main role is played by advertising, occupying the lion's share of the space of newspapers, magazines, radio, and television broadcasts of the countries of state-monopoly capital. This is how bourgeois journalism deprives a person of his main qualities, dehumanizes him.

One of the forms of human dehumanization is the immoralism that bourgeois journalism inspires. It is expressed primarily in the slogan “the end justifies the means”, which is in use in the sphere of both consumption and human behavior in capitalist society, and in foreign policy, and at the same time in the emotional sphere; bourgeois propaganda extends it even to intimate relationships between people - in this case, we are

talking about pornography and the so-called "exploitation", which serves bourgeois journalism as a means of making a profit, on the one hand, and cultivating extreme individualism in relations between people, on the other.

The amoralism of bourgeois journalism is also manifested in its desire to awaken in a person for the sake of their commercial goals base instincts both in the field of sex and in the field of violence. The cult of sex and violence, planted today by the mass media in the world of capital, reflects the extreme form of the decomposition of the human personality, the dehumanization of bourgeois society.

While spreading an immoral ideology, bourgeois journalism does not forget about the sanctimonious propaganda of moralizing under the slogans of religiosity. The ideological postulates of the church seem to contradict the propaganda of immoralism, the cult of sex and violence, but in reality the clash between religious people and pornographers reflects only two extremes of bourgeois propaganda, united by the defense of bourgeois ideology, the sanctity of private property and individualism, in some cases covered with a religious veil, in others - naked to extremes.

Speaking about the myths of bourgeois journalism, it must be emphasized that all of them, no matter what guise they take on at different stages of the ideological struggle, are associated with the introduction of bourgeois ideas into human consciousness. Today it is the hype about "human rights", talk about the "free world", and 40 years ago it was the cries of the superman and the virtues of the Aryan race.

Despite the apparent diversity of such myths, their essence is one and pursues the goal of dehumanizing the individual, society, subordinating a person to the interests of capital, turning workers into prisoners of bourgeois ideology. In the

report of the CPSU, it was emphasized that "the ideological confrontation between the two systems is becoming more active, imperialist propaganda is becoming more sophisticated."

Effective opposition to bourgeois propaganda, exposure of the latest varieties of its mimicry is facilitated by an analysis of its main myths, which helps to identify and determine ways to combat them more accurately. At the same time, the upbringing of communist ideology, the spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist solidarity, collectivism and comradeship, the upbringing of a comprehensively developed personality, inspired by the labor, political and moral ideals of communism, is of paramount importance.

AGAINST THE WORLD AND PROGRESS

Anticommunism

In the arsenal of bourgeois means of spiritual and political enslavement of the masses, the most important place is given to anti-communism.

K. Marx's well-known article "Communism and the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung" captures the time when even monarchist and bourgeois-philistine circles flirted with the ideas of utopian communism. About one of these sugary philistines, who labored precisely in the Augsburg "Alremein Zeitung", the future founder of scientific communism caustically remarked that he "interprets history like a confectioner treats botany ...".

With the transformation of socialism and communism from utopia into science, there was a delimitation of representatives of various classes in relation to this doctrine. In the "Communist Manifesto" K. Marx and F. Engels recorded the moment when this doctrine had already become the object of

persecution by reactionaries of all shades. A few years later, in October-November 1852, a trial took place in Cologne of 12 members of the League of Communists. The echoes of this judgment are heard to this day.

In the years that have elapsed since then, the world has changed beyond recognition. For six decades now, the situation has been! scientific communism are embodied in the practice of building a new society. The international community of socialist countries has existed for three decades. The transition from capitalism to socialism became the content of the era.

… the champions of the historically obsolete capitalist system are resorting to the most desperate attempts to debunk the humanity of communist ideals, discredit the practice of real socialism, and introduce confusion into the international struggle of the working people. "The achievements and the growing ideological and political potential of the communist movement cause undisguised alarm in the class enemy. In a situation of crisis and historical defeats in its policy, imperialism mobilizes its political and ideological resources. Coordinated subversive campaigns against the fraternal parties, against our movement as a whole, have become an integral and increasingly important component of the overall global strategy of imperialism. At the same time, all means are used: the most brutal repressions, and provocations… Organized anti-communism has more than a century of history

…But it is equally important to note that in recent years, on a new historical basis and in a more thoughtful, sophisticated form, in addition to direct ideological and political confrontation with the ideology and politics of the communists, the tactics of compromising real socialism and scientific communism through communist phraseology are

being used more and more energetically… The compromise of real socialism and the communist doctrine by means of ideological sabotage and open journalistic terror are the two main varieties of modern anti-communism. The ever-wider use of ideological subversion by anti-communists was expressed in the creation of a wide network of special institutions, from "scientific" centers "for the study of communism", including even the "samizdat archive", to departments directly in the intelligence agencies of the imperialist powers. These institutions have direct "outputs" to the media…

Anti-communism as a weapon of fascism

Even such an arch-reactionary assault detachment of the bourgeoisie as German fascism, in the first period of its existence, tried to balance between terror against the most conscious part of the workers of their own country and demagogy, vaguely provocative statements about the existence of some kind of “commonality” between National Socialism and. . . Communism, with preference given, of course, to Nazism.

Hitler began his career as an agent in the German labor movement - an agent in the literal sense, who was in the pay of the Bavarian military authorities and soon became the "Führer" of the "workers' party". .Perhaps the biggest ideological diversion of the 20th century was the decision. Nazis for the first time in history

bourgeois political thought to use the term "propaganda" in a positive sense, as it was used by the revolutionary social democrats and communists. The rethinking of the concept of "propaganda" by the Nazis, their sabotage intrigues in the labor movement created a long-term basis for attacks on

communist propaganda and ideology by "orthodox" bourgeois political scientists.

The roots of the now fashionable opposition of Leninism to Marxism are also rooted in Nazi agitation. In general, however, the fascists were characterized by outright reproach to communism: {Truths, lies and slander. The nature of their agitation fully confirmed the words of V. I. Lenin: "**When the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie on the workers** falls, is undermined, weakens, the **bourgeoisie** has always and everywhere resorted and **will resort to the most desperate lies and slander.**"

The height of the anti-communist trickery of the Nazis was the full house on the front page of the Völkischer Beobachter of April 11, 1923: "Bolshevism is Jewish revenge.

40 million dead Russians - just retribution." "These words," the sold-out message began, "characterize the essence of the article by Fridtjof Nansen that appeared in the Vossische Zeitung of March 30, 1923," etc.

Thus, first of all, the impression was created that the article actually published by the famous polar explorer in a liberal-bourgeois newspaper spoke of "40 million victims of the Bolshevik revolution."

In fact, this slanderous statement was contained only in a commentary on the extremely tendentious presentation of Nansen's article, in which the author, who visited the Soviet Union on an international mission to help the famine-stricken Volga region, mentioned, in particular, official anti-Semitism in pre-revolutionary Russia.

On the pages of the Völkischer Beobachter, a subversive thesis about the "Soviet paradise" was invented, sometimes even taking the form of a rubric. Claiming that the Bolsheviks

promised to turn Russia into a paradise the very next day after coming to power, the Hitlerite falsifiers refuted the “promise” they had invented by means of extensive quotations from the critical materials of the Soviet press of the early 1920s, which sought to contribute to overcoming the devastating consequences of civil war, foreign military intervention and crop failure.

The frank nature of the speeches of the Soviet press and Soviet leaders was presented as "cold cynicism", the antics of the Nepmen they scourged were presented under headings like: "The drunkenness of the Soviet bandits."

What the communist magazine Soviet-Rusland Im Bild told about the difficult situation in Soviet Russia at that time to the German workers, specifically for the purpose of solidarity, was hushed up. Instead, philippics like the following were published: "And in Germany, the 'Germans' are fighting for heavenly Soviet Russia."

The German fascists were the forerunners of US Senator McCarthy in exploiting the stereotype of "a communist is an agent of a foreign power." They tried to eradicate from the consciousness of the German, and then other peoples, the idea that there could be a communist party acting in the interests of the nation. Avoiding referring to the communists of their own country as Germans, the National Socialists used the expression "German communists" mainly when it was about anti-fascist emigrants who needed to cause trouble in the host country. The Nazis did not allow the idea of the legitimacy of the existence of the national communist party.

Therefore, for example, the headline "Legalized Bolshevism" should have sounded like a sensation of a blatant nature. Having learned in February 1935 about the arrests of German emigrants in Holland, the Völkischer Beobachter immediately

tried to use this fact in order to incite the Dutch authorities against the Dutch communists who were members of parliament. (…)

Trying to seize the initiative in the struggle for world public opinion, the German fascist instigators, four and a half months before the opening of the congress, published a sensational forgery in the Völkischer Beobachter, which claimed that the Soviet Union was thirsting for war in order to hasten the world revolution. It was designed to sow suspicion among the governments of the capitalist powers, and among the communists of various countries, and even among the Soviet peasantry, while in domestic political terms it pursued the goal of "brainwashing" the Germans exactly a week before the introduction of universal military service to intensify preparations for a war of conquest .

The fake about the Soviet Union's desire for war set the tone for subsequent reports in the fascist and militarist press about a world forum of fighters for peace and democracy. The Japanese newspaper Asahi shamelessly described the congress as "a provocation against the entire civilized world." This was precisely the big lie of the anti-communists. The Congress really challenged, but only the fascists and militarists, for the sake of developing tactics to combat which he gathered.

But it was not directed against the bourgeoisie as a whole.

It seems that the anti-communists from the London Times understood this then, dissociating themselves from the National Socialists just in case by means of the article "Two Dictatorships", where it was stated that the fascists are essentially no different from the communists. Such an absurd statement was not new to the communists, but for the fascists it posed a threat of internal political isolation in countries with bourgeois-democratic regimes, as well as the isolation of

fascist states in the international arena. Therefore, the Völkischer Beobachter immediately came out with a refutation of the article in The Times, and subsequently this article served as the seed for Goebbels's "giant" anti-communist speech at the NSDAP congress in September 1935.

The basis of the speech was the identification of the fascist regimes with "world civilization" and, accordingly, the distortion of the true meaning of the decisions of the 7th Congress of the Comintern. The anti-communists of the liberal persuasion also made their pernicious contribution of concealing from the population of the capitalist countries the real meaning of the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. And this led to the fact that fascist tendencies were dragged into the political practice of individual countries under the pretext of fighting communism.

As is known, in his famous report at the 7th conference G. Dimitrov put forward the thesis of a Trojan horse. From it was clear that the Communists, in connection with the threat of fascism, did not rule out the possibility of using special political techniques in the struggle for the masses where it involved actions against fascist organizations. The proclamation of the Trojan horse tactics in response to the offensive of fascism was certainly not an easy decision for the communists.

In his concluding remarks G. Dimitrov substantiated it as follows: “Lenin persistently warned us against “templating, mechanical leveling, identification of tactical rules, rules of struggle”. This indication is especially true when it comes to fighting an enemy that is so refined, so Jesuitically exploits the national feelings and prejudices of the masses and their anti-capitalist sentiments in the interests of big capital. Such an enemy must be known exactly and from all sides. It is necessary to respond without any delay to his various

maneuvers, to discover his hidden moves, to be ready to rebuff him in any field and at any moment. There is no need to be ashamed even to learn from the enemy if this will help to turn his neck quickly and more accurately.

The frankness of these words did not leave any ambiguity about why, against whom and how the "Trojan horse" tactics were to be used. Practically all the anti-Hitler forces, in the slightest degree reckoning with the then realities, stood on the basis of this tactic. But where they were infected with anti-communism, this attitude of theirs created a breeding ground for those tricks that the fascists and their various accomplices resorted to in response to the proclamation of the thesis about the "Trojan horse". (…)

Finally, it should be recalled that the key in the relevant reasoning of G. Dimitrov was not the image of a "Trojan horse" at all, but the image of a "ram". Arguing that "three phrases in his (G. Dimitrova. - Yu. O.) speech made it a historical statement" and that "from these three phrases the world received the clearest description of the communist strategy," Dees made a blatant exaggeration, because, citing these three phrase, he did not quote the following, and then it was said: “We revolutionary workers, it seems to me, should not hesitate to use the same tactics in defense of our fascist enemy, who defends himself from the people with a living wall of his cutthroats.

Anyone who does not understand the necessity of using such tactics against fascism, who considers such an approach humiliating, can be the most excellent comrade, but he, let me say, is a talker, not a revolutionary, he will not be able to lead the masses to overthrow the fascist dictatorship.

The mass movement of the united front, which is born outside and inside the fascist organizations of Germany, Italy, and

other countries where fascism has a mass base, starting from the defense of the most elementary needs, changing its forms and slogans of struggle as this struggle expands and grows, will be the battering ram that destroy the fortress of the fascist dictatorship, which now seems to many to be impregnable.

These words turned out to be prophetic, although it was possible to create an effective ram against fascism only in the course of an armed clash with it…. The tactics of anti-communism have always been directed against good relations between peoples and states. International tension has been and remains both the breeding ground for anti-communism and its offspring. (…)

Sowing anti-communist appeals, the Nazis knew that they were by no means preachers in the desert. They relied on anti-communism, which existed in addition to their agitation. This was also the case during the Second World War. The prejudices of the Western leaders were the deadly heel of the anti-Hitler coalition, which Goebbels strove to strike the more persistently, the more serious the defeats of the Wehrmacht became. The delays with the opening of the second front served as an encouraging sign for the German fascist leadership. And the Nazis, as far as they could, provoked the motives of these delays. The frankness with which the Nazis, especially since 1943 and mainly in messages to foreign audiences, spoke about the disappointing results of the battles on the Eastern Front, which sometimes puzzled Western observers, was an elaborate ploy of the same “anti-Bolshevik propaganda”. Varying their old argument, the Nazis tried to convince world public opinion that after the catastrophe of the Wehrmacht on the Volga, "the catastrophe of this civilization in Europe" would follow. Recording the results of a conversation with Hitler in early March 1943, the Nazi minister noted: “My anti-Bolshevik propaganda is wholly

approved by the Fuhrer. Here we have the best horse in our stable. He also approves of my tactic of refraining from refuting the Bolshevik victory messages circulating around the world. Europe should be allowed to calmly digest this horror - that will increase her mind. However, our anti-Bolshevik propaganda is a bone of contention in the camp of the enemy….

When the possibilities of delaying the opening of a second front began to dry up, Goebbels tried to terrorize the Western European public even with the help of urgently fabricated "hypothetical" novels, the plot of which was the terrible ups and downs of the alleged landing of the Americans in Europe, invented by fascist hack writers.

Anti-Communist dogmas in a modern package

The age-old dogma of the "Soviet threat" remains the crowning instrument in the "propaganda set" of anti-communist ideologues and agitators. It determined the climate of the Cold War decades. It "takes out" those Western European and overseas figures who now start the year with talk of peace, and end with another decision of the NATO Council to increase military spending, taken to the accompaniment of all means of mass ideological influence.

At the same time, even the thesis of the "Soviet threat" is now often realized by bourgeois ideologists and the imperialist mass media in "new approaches." These "new approaches" are characteristic primarily of "flexible" anti-communism, which was a reaction to the change in the balance of forces on the world stage in favor of socialism.

The expansion of the geography of the countries of the socialist community, the natural national characteristics of the formation of a new system in some socialist countries and the peculiarities of the struggle for fundamental social

transformations in individual capitalist countries, the conditions for the development of which ensured the world successes of real socialism, the growth of material and technical equipment and the well-being of the peoples of the socialist countries - all this determined, firstly, the preference of "flexible" anti-communists for methods of frontal attacks on socialism and communism, methods of ideological sabotage, and secondly, the very directions of these sabotage.

The "flexible" anti-communists, perhaps, are no longer trying to defeat the international communist movement with one all-encompassing offensive. Rather, they seek to weaken it piecemeal. The gradual disappearance of the "arguments" about the economic "poverty of socialism", globally disgraced by the launch of the first artificial satellite of the Earth, they are now increasingly trying to compensate with fabrications about the "lack of rights" of man in a socialist society.

Hence comes the opposition to each other of various detachments of the world communist and working-class movement, real socialism, "improved socialism", some socialist countries - others, socialist orders that really guarantee the most essential freedoms and human rights - orders in which the measure of loudly declared human freedom is strictly measured by his bank account, according to which it is both theoretically and practically impossible to maintain universal equality.

The common denominator of the efforts of ideological saboteurs is the desire to wrest from the hands of the communists their most reliable weapon, tested by history - international solidarity.

The foregoing does not mean that in connection with the fashion for "flexible" anti-communism, "stubborn" anti-communism has become a thing of the past. It continues to

exist and even in its own way parasitizes the existence of "flexible" anti-communism, including its leftist manifestations.

Deep crisis phenomena in the capitalist world give rise to bizarre intertwining of the ideology of "flexible" and "stubborn" anti-communism. Since, however, the former is usually professed by liberal and the latter by conservative ideologues and politicians, there may be noticeable political differences between the advocates of these two lines of anti-communist strategy, which cannot be ignored accordingly. They must be taken into account, first of all, because, undoubtedly, the greatest danger directly to the cause of peace comes from "stubborn" anti-communism.

It was the “hard-headed” anti-communism that first of all inherited the fascist tradition of eliminating domestic political competitors by attributing “pro-communist sympathies” to them, and, consequently, its political attacks on “flexible” anti-communists are accompanied by a mass of exaggerations, which, ideologically, by no means “expose”, but rather, they disguise "flexible" anti-communists in the eyes of a not particularly sophisticated consumer of the products of the imperialist mass media. In this regard, already "flexible" anti-communism parasitizes on "hard-headed" anti-communism, because attacks from the right objectively "insure" the ideological subversion of the liberals.

While the weekly of the neo-Nauist national-democratic party Deutsche Wochen-Zeitung declared the very fact of the perfidious attack of Hitler Germany on the USSR a “fairy tale”, the Straussian weekly Bayernkurier, under the heading “Minutes decide the fate of Europe”, continued to advertise NATO, rejected even by some figures. studies" of the Belgian general Kloz "Europe without Defense", proving its relevance by the fact that the troops of the Warsaw Pact ... had already begun to concentrate for a "surprise attack", although the

Bavarian instigators needed a reminder of Kloz's sensational opus only to justify the introduction of alarming innovations in NATO strategic planning.

Goebbels himself could envy the refinement of the fake in the Munich magazine campaigning for the "stubborn" anti-communists Strauss and Dregger: “Cubans at the gate! After Castro's military units in Angola fired their way to power for the African communists, they must now bring civil war to Europe. The Cuban dictator plans to create a "European brigade" consisting of over 1,500 specialists in subversive and underground activities. This is clear from a federal intelligence report obtained by Quick. The main objects of the "European brigade" should initially be France and Germany. It is envisaged that half of the specialists in subversive activities will be mobilized in Cuba, the rest in the South American communist groups. The staffing of the brigade has already begun ... ”, etc. In fact, this note began a wave of unprecedented “anti-terrorist” hysteria in the FRG, directed primarily against the West German communists, despite all their statements about a negative attitude towards terrorism. (…)

This is an old trick: professional anti-communists and defenders of the capitalist profit system dress up as "benevolent advisers" and fiery "socialists", only they want a supposedly different, "more beautiful" socialism than the GKP. The gentlemen promise us "recognition" and "success" if we are ready to get rid of "stale goods", from our scientific theory and worldview, from the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, from the struggle to replace the political power of big capital with the power of the working class and its allies as a prerequisite for the creation of a socialist social order. (…)

The fake published in Spiegel, in addition to the most vile gossip of the lowest kind, was a wild hodgepodge of pseudo-

socialist and pseudo-communist views - from social democracy to Maoism. Thus, the pseudo-manifesto reflected the latest trends in the anti-communist strategy and tactics of ideological saboteurs.

The favorite method of the enemies of communism has now become all sorts of emphasizing and exaggerating the differences in the points of view of individual communist parties on certain issues, deliberate statements of "differences" and prophecies about a "split" in the international communist and workers' movement. According to the templates of these statements and prophecies, reports from major international forums of communists are "cut". The actual content of speeches at such forums is sometimes dissected beyond recognition, and often hushed up altogether. The concealment of objective information about the communist movement, about real socialism, often causes a striking and simply ridiculous ignorance of the mass audience of the capitalist countries about the real aspirations of the communists, about the life and way of life of the peoples of the socialist countries.

The technique of planting such ignorance has been polished for decades. A notable “contribution” to its development was made by the American magazine Readers Digest, which specializes in instilling in readers the most primitive stereotypes of the perception of social reality. Capitalizing on American interest in communism, The Digest makes every effort to present the theory and practice of communism to the mass reader in a distorted light...

The Reader's Digest propaganda arsenal contains a whole set of anti-communist stereotypes ... These are stereotypes such as "red" - the designation of communists, these are stereotypes-myths "the threat of communism", "communist regime", "totalitarian state", "iron curtain" , "Soviet imperialism". Even the “Kremlin”, as a designation for the leaders of the Soviet

state, under the pen of falsifiers from the Reader's Digest and other reactionary publications, turns into a purely anti-Soviet stereotype. The Stern magazine once acknowledged that the "image of communism" in the eyes of the mass West German audience is built on caricatured associations: "Ivan, Ulbricht, zonal border, wall." In the same FRG, the slogan "Freedom or socialism" is put forward, calculated on dense ignorance.

The introduction by the imperialist media of the slanderous thesis about the incompatibility of communist ideology with freedom leaves a noticeable imprint on the current vicissitudes of the class struggle in Western Europe and on other continents.

It is impossible not to state that to a certain extent this becomes possible also because the echoes of the arguments about the "infringement of freedom" in the conditions of real socialism are indiscriminately picked up by some Western European communist journalists. Meanwhile, let's say, the last parliamentary elections in France quite convincingly showed that the uncritical attitude towards the anti-socialist postulates of ideological saboteurs had a detrimental effect on the outcome of the elections for the alliance of left forces.

Drawing arguments against real socialism from the press and the speeches of some leaders of the PCF, bourgeois journalism - and not only in France - noisily reproached the French socialists for "concessions" to the PCF, at the same time repeating about the "unreliability" of the Communists in the role of allies and ultimately agitating for right parties. The version about the advantage achieved by the left parties, which gained some circulation after the first round of voting, pursued the goal of forcing certain contingents of voters to vote in the second round for the candidates of the right forces.

After the leaders of the left parties agreed on joint actions in the second round, the big-bourgeois Madrid ABC announced that "the socialists are making unconditional concessions to the communist party"; and the London Times quoted R. Barr's statement: "My impression is that (in the negotiations before the second round) the Communist Party has won all along the line"; the American Newsweek presented the victory of the right in the second round as a settled matter, while trying to present the failure of the socialists as a consequence of their alliance with the communists: "... François Mitterrand will lose the most ...In his pursuit of high office, he gambled on an alliance with the Communists, a strategy that backfired on him late last week." It also seems no coincidence that it was at this time that another American weekly, Time, timed the publication of an article on the "trials and mistakes of socialism", which argued that "social democrats ... were usually the first victims of communist upheavals."

The inveterate anti-communists turned to the most frank courtship of the Maoist defilers of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. For example, the author of one commentary in Newsweek magazine entitled "China: How far, how fast?", stating that he "always insisted that the Chinese position in its confrontation with the Soviet military threat deserved the full sympathy and active support of the West", directly called on Mao's heirs to abandon the camouflage of "communist" phrases in favor of the great-power nationalist ideology, "serve the interests of the country, not the regime," "react like the Chinese, not like the communists."

What the current Beijing leaders are doing with diligence that is detrimental to their own people and the cause of world peace.

Concerning the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, only new, sometimes simply ridiculously tortured, grounds

for attacks are invented, in support of which the ill-wishers of communism have to stuff the mass audience of the capitalist countries with increasingly miserable fabrications. For example, there was a time when ideological saboteurs built their tactics on defamation of individual figures of socialist culture, attributing to them "dissent", arguing that such figures "have nowhere to turn around", etc. Having failed with this tactic, yesterday's "well-wishers" grab for a new "argument", they resort to the most unscrupulous overexposure, trying to convince their audience that there is "nothing interesting left" in the culture of the socialist countries.

Such techniques are widely practiced in the area most directly related to the functioning of the media: --- in the field of journalism. The anti-communists are trying to prevent the spread of the ideas of scientific socialism and communism by means of a scientific distortion of the principles and methods of activity of communist journalism.

This technique can be traced very clearly in the treatise of the American researcher de Sol Poole "Media and Politics in the Process of Modernization". Definitely counting on the ignorance of his readers, de Sola Pool undertakes to tell them what Lenin saw as the purpose of the press. "In What to Do?" Lenin, he writes, insistently demands the creation of an all-Russian legal newspaper for revolutionaries within the limits of the tsarist empire. He recognized the correctness of his opponents when they advanced the argument that such a newspaper, under the conditions of tsarist censorship, could never propagate truth in the Marxist sense, could not speak effectively—in short, could not actually be the mouthpiece of the convictions of its publishers. Why, then, did he, in spite of this, want to found it and consider it extremely important?

Its main reason was the conclusion, which was also accepted by the American vote hunters, the conclusion that it is precisely the newspaper distribution apparatus that is the excellent core of the political machinery.

From this reasoning, first of all, it is clear that de Sola Pool read very inattentively (if he read at all) "What is to be done?" and the actual history of the creation of Iskra is unknown to him. And most importantly, the bourgeois falsifier is trying to put V. I. Lenin on the same level as the purely bourgeois "technocrats" from politics, who are quite compromised in the United States themselves, who believe that any means are good in the pursuit of votes. These fake attempts are needed by de Sola Poole to “prove” that the principle of truthfulness of the press for V. I. Lenin did not exist at all, that “in the eyes of the Communists, the mass media should be judged not by some abstract truth of content, but only by the contribution which they contribute to the revitalization of organized folk groups."

This statement, of course, directly connects with one of Goebbels' favorite thoughts: “Propaganda in itself has no fundamental method. It has only a goal, and this goal in politics is always to win the masses. Any means that serves this purpose is good.”

As for V. I. Lenin, it is enough to read his letters to the editors of party newspapers to see how scrupulously he treated the reliability of the materials published in them and the facts used. But such excursions were definitely not part of the task of the American forger.

As for V. I. Lenin, it is enough to read his letters to the editors of party newspapers to see how scrupulously he treated the reliability of the materials published in them and the facts used. But such excursions were definitely not part of the task

of the American forger. By slanderously “bringing together” the communist principles of the press with the cynical practice of the American “hair hunters” and the Jesuit aphorisms of the fascist minister, de Sola Poole is acting exactly according to the method of that agitation that was once called upon to prove that fascism is better than communism.

The well-known fate of these agitators should have prompted today's squires of anti-communism to reflect on the futility of their wrongdoing. It remains wrong, not only in the form of "traditional" scolding of the "hard-headed", but also being presented in a fashionable package of "interest" in improving communist theory and real socialism. Without genuine communists, genuine democracy is impossible. Anti-communism is doomed to defeat by the very history of human society.

Militarism

Militarism is an essential feature of capitalism. Pointing to the class purpose of militarism, V. I. Lenin wrote as early as 1908: “Modern militarism is the result of capitalism. In both of its forms, it is the "vital manifestation" of capitalism: as a military force used by the capitalist states in any external conflicts ("Militarismus nach aussen", as the Germans say) and as a weapon in the hands of the ruling classes to suppress every kind of (economic and political) movements of the proletariat ... ". *vol. 17, p. 187*

The concrete policy of any country, emphasized the classics of Marxism-Leninism, directly grows out of its class roots, therefore, without examining the question of “how the main classes of modern society prepared, cultivated, created over decades their present attitude towards war with such and such a policy rooted in in such and such class interests ... -

Lenin pointed out, - there is nothing to talk about the Marxist attitude towards the war ... " *vol. 26, p. 278*

Militarism is the striking force of monopoly capital in the implementation of its aggressive foreign policy plans and anti-popular domestic policy in the capitalist countries.

In recent decades, the role of the so-called military-industrial complex in the economic and political life of the capitalist countries has grown considerably. It is an interweaving of those sectors of monopolistic companies that are most interested in fanning militarism and military adventures abroad, and the top military. Adjoining this complex are also groups of scientists who carry out orders from military departments, trade union bosses who have linked their fate with military monopolies. A particularly important role in the desire of certain circles of bourgeois society to make the militaristic spirit permeate all aspects of life is played by the mass media, which glorify militarism and its inhumane ideology.

The Program of the Communist Party of the USA notes: "The propaganda services of the Pentagon and the corresponding departments in the military-industrial companies resort to countless tricks, ranging from the publication of special comics to the publication of pseudoscientific works, to shape public opinion."

Certain circles in the Pentagon are striving to prove to millions of Americans that an end to the arms race and the onset of peace in international relations will have a disastrous effect on them. The idea is driven into the minds of the “average” American: the arms race is good, and its reduction means a decrease in living standards. Some sensible US statesmen are quite concerned about this policy. Senator W. Fulbright noted:

“As long as ... **as long as military factories** or facilities are located in 363 of the 435 electoral districts, as long as the Department of Defense remains the nation's largest research and development customer, millions of Americans... **will be interested in maintaining a war-oriented economy.”**

… The processing of public opinion is one of the most important tasks of militaristic circles. For example, the US Navy twice a year arranges "floating seminars" on its aircraft carriers for businessmen, directors of newspapers and television stations, trade union leaders, and teachers. The result of such events is the strengthening of militaristic propaganda in the country.

…. It is even difficult to enumerate the state, private and other propaganda organs that exist in capitalist countries to indoctrinate the population in a militaristic spirit. Special efforts are being made by reactionary circles to keep broad sections of the population under the ideological influence of militarism. And the mass media provide invaluable assistance in this, in which the servants of the militarists, resorting to various tricks, try to justify the policy of aggression, the arms race, and military escalation.

… During the Cold War, bourgeois propagandists openly justified the arms race with references to the unacceptability of peaceful coexistence for capitalist states with countries of a different social system, the need to "reject socialism."

… The press of the major bourgeois countries stubbornly preached the need to "isolate" Russia by creating an overwhelming superiority of forces in the "free world", but all these calls for a "victorious" third world war were invariably covered up by false assertions about the need to defend against "Russian aggression". (…)

The main thesis of the propaganda was the same assertion about the "Soviet threat", which supposedly now relegated the threat of German aggression to the background. The French right-wing press came out in support of the Schuman plan, which made it possible to create an economic basis for the revival of the German army. Calling this plan a "revolutionary initiative," Le Figaro publishes daily enthusiastic responses from Western capitals to this French initiative for a month.

… Le Figaro spares no effort to "correctly interpret" the idea of German rearmament in order to make it "acceptable", if not on both banks of the Rhine, then at least for its readers.

… From the start of the Vietnam War, many American press outlets supported the US's aggressive intervention in the war, denouncing the end-war advocates for their lack of "patriotism." The supporters of ending the colonial wars in Indochina and North Africa were branded in the same way by the French right-wing press. Moreover, not only the communist press, but also left-wing bourgeois newspapers and magazines were subjected to sharp criticism. (…)

Using such fabrications, calculated to inspire unsubstantiated, knowingly false ideas, bourgeois propaganda contributes to the spread of hostility towards peoples fighting for their independence, and at the same time incites military hysteria, demands the strengthening of military power.

At the same time, the US media creates a positive stereotype of America as a stronghold of peace in their pages. They glorified the American marines, soldiers, officers who famously defeated the enemies of America. Exploiting social prejudices, especially in the strata of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, militaristic propaganda deceived thousands of young Americans who went to defend America in the remote jungles of Vietnam. Having assimilated anti-communist

propaganda, most young Americans believed that there, far across the ocean, was the first bastion of America's defense against the onset of the "Reds".

Life has shown the lies and hypocrisy of those defenders of "free ideals" who broke the fate of tens of thousands of young people who went to die in distant Vietnam to ensure the profits of the military-industrial complex with militaristic propaganda.

For all the complexity and inconsistency of the situation in the modern world, for a number of years its dominant feature has been peace, the establishment of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and the development of mutually beneficial international cooperation.

Against the backdrop of these positive changes, the fierce attacks of some part of the bourgeois press on the policy of peace and the socialist countries look in sharp contrast. The mass media of the Western countries diligently warn the Western world against cooperation with the USSR, presenting the foreign policy of the Soviet Union in a distorted light. (…)

Hitler's thugs refer to the respectful attitude towards them on the part of prominent political figures of the FRG, strive to legalize military crimes, as such, and most importantly, in full accordance with the tradition coming from Hitler and Goebbels, they prove that there are no more reliable anti-communists than the SS. "... What the enemy wants is the destruction of all anti-communist forces in the Federal Republic, as this corresponds to the strategy of world communism, in order to thereby pave the way to Germany under the sign of the hammer and sickle. A group of persons from among the former soldiers of the troops block this path as the smallest, although, apparently, one of the most feared

groups. Such are the fabrications set forth in one of Strassner's leading articles.

Internationally, dividends for the SS are brought by punitive expeditions and wars like the Vietnamese. (…)

The press, which is in the service of the monopolies, spreads more and more new concepts of the use of nuclear weapons, which are designed to turn nuclear war from an "unthinkable" event into a conceivable one by substantiating the possibilities of the "limited" use of strategic nuclear weapons.

The propaganda machine of the United States and other Western countries persistently proves that there will be no catastrophe, that under the "limited" use of nuclear weapons, there will be less casualties and destruction than during the Second World War, and the Western press does not hesitate to declare the Soviet Union the "initiator" of aggression .

…… And again the notorious myth about the "Soviet threat" is pulled out. The fear-sowers of the American Times, for example, publish a map with red arrows pointing east to west, "a diagram of a probable attack." The French "Poin" depicts on the cover a huge bear in a pre-revolutionary Cossack cap, placing rockets on a globe. This frightening picture is an illustration of an article by one of the magazine's leaders, Georges Suffer, who trumpets about the "red menace" for ten pages. The text, which is an almost verbatim repetition of fakes fabricated by the US military-industrial complex and NATO generals, is accompanied by tables filled with figures taken from the ceiling, diagrams, diagrams, intimidating the reader with Soviet military superiority. (…)

It should be noted that in the majority of publications using the myth of the "Soviet threat" the bourgeois press cites facts and figures coming from across the ocean. The information services of the US military-industrial complex have

thoroughly prepared for a campaign of intimidation of the world public, flooding the media with these CIA-generated information: all kinds of reports, promise analyzes, research results; the bourgeois press had only to apply its technique of disinformation, and the campaign of brainwashing the reader, prepared by militarist circles, unfolded almost on a global scale. And now, from the pages of the bourgeois press of the United States and other capitalist countries, an avalanche of articles, interviews, "research" and even "top secret" documents falls upon the reader, stuffed to capacity with inspired and false "facts" that are designed to prove that the Soviet Union is spending more and more money for military purposes, while the US cuts the budget of the Pentagon and is in danger of falling behind the military.

(…)

The bourgeois press is a zealous conductor of the interests of the military-industrial complex, it is used by it as a shock detachment of militarism, as a mouthpiece for the arms race. The media, obedient to military-industrial capital, readily rush to advertise any doctrine of their masters, whether it be the concept of a "long" or "short" war or a project to create a neutron bomb, cruise missiles or intercontinental super missiles called MX. Bourgeois publications are always ready to raise a fuss about the "Soviet threat", creating an atmosphere of suspicion, fear, uncertainty, not only in order to ensure the pushing of new military programs.

Nationalism

The propaganda of nationalism by the capitalist media is not a new phenomenon.

The ruling circles of the antagonistic society and their hired slier-bourgeois journalists have accumulated considerable experience in deceiving the masses, manipulating their

consciousness with the help of nationalist slogans, and have worked out specific techniques and methods of ideological sabotage and insidious speculation on the national feelings of people, inciting national enmity and hatred.

By opposing the working people to each other on national grounds, they seek in this way to weaken the class struggle in their own countries and slow down the revolutionary process on an international scale.

It should be noted right away that nationalism is a very complex social phenomenon and, despite its obvious bourgeois origin, under certain specific historical conditions can play a relatively progressive role.

For example, V. I. Lenin approved of the democratic elements that exist in the content of the nationalism of an oppressed nation.

In the well-known work “On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination”, he wrote: “In every bourgeois nationalism of an oppressed nation there is a general democratic content against oppression, and we unconditionally support this content ...” And in today's world, communists, and all sincere supporters of social progress with sympathize with the anti-imperialist content of nationalism in countries fighting for their political and economic liberation.

The national liberation movement of the peoples against the oppression of foreign monopoly capital promotes progressive changes throughout the world and is rightfully considered an important revolutionary current of our time.

The presence and absence of democratic elements in the content of nationalism is determined by specific historical conditions. There was a time when bourgeois nationalism also

played a positive role in the countries that today are part of the system of states of monopoly capital.

Many writers and journalists of the period of anti-feudal and anti-monarchist revolutions of the 16th-18th centuries in Western Europe fought against despotic regimes and against reactionary clerical dogmas, widely using slogans to protect the interests of the then emerging European nations.

For example, they included Erasmus of Rotterdam, Ulrich von Hutten, Martin Luther, and other prominent figures of the Reformation era in Germany, who expressed the views of the democratic circles of the emerging bourgeoisie.

In France, the democratic newspapers of the times of the Great Bourgeois Revolution actively aroused the national feelings and national self-consciousness of the French, telling them on their pages about the danger threatening the country from the European monarchies, who were trying to stifle the revolution.

The progressiveness of the European bourgeoisie, which was at the head of the national movements of the period of struggle against feudalism and absolutism, began to disappear as it seized political and economic power and intensified the exploitation of the working masses. At the next stage in the development of capitalism, in the era of imperialism, the use of nationalism by the bourgeoisie, already as a means of deceiving and dividing the working people, assumed enormous proportions.

Deftly playing on the national feelings of fellow citizens, the imperialists deliberately confuse the concepts of "national" and "nationalist", trying to hide their narrow class goals behind the screen of propaganda of "general national interests". Nationalism in the capitalist countries has lost its progressive and, conversely, acquired reactionary features,

primarily because the working class has become the bearer of truly national and at the same time international interests, and the ruling bourgeoisie has become a serious brake on social development.

“Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism,” wrote V. I. Lenin, “these are two irreconcilably hostile slogans corresponding to the two great class camps of the entire capitalist world and expressing two policies (moreover: two worldviews) in the national question.”

Having become the mouthpiece of the monopolistic and financial oligarchy, the bourgeois press, like the radio broadcasting that later appeared, helps its masters to weaken the antagonistic contradictions in society by spreading the slogans of “defending the interests of the nation”, which have become false and insincere for it. For example, the predatory activities of the monopolies in the colonies are presented by the imperialist media as a "civilizing mission"; inciting national enmity between the peoples of different countries, they thereby prepare the ground for unleashing imperialist wars. (…)

After the Second World War, the propaganda of nationalism in the US mass media increased noticeably. This is due primarily to the strengthening of the military-political and economic positions of US imperialism in the capitalist world and its transformation into the main world exploiter and gendarme. The Cold War, unleashed by the reactionary forces, contributed to a closer intertwining of nationalist and anti-communist tendencies in American journalism.

Back in 1941, G. Luce, the owner of the largest magazine concern in the United States, authored an article under the pretentious title "The American Century", which put forward the idea of the leading role of the United States in the post-war

order of the world, while the Americans were urged to "take the responsibility of being the most powerful nation in the world ... " . The great-power and aggressive course of US imperialism is manifested not only in the military-political and economic actions of the US monopoly circles, but also in their active information and propaganda activities. With the beginning of the Cold War, a powerful and highly ramified apparatus of foreign policy propaganda was created in the United States in the form of USIA and a number of other ideological institutions.

Together with private commercial news outlets, government propaganda heavily advertised the American way of life and the so-called US special mission to "contain communism."

At home, the deliberate exploitation of racial and nationalist prejudices prevalent among the American inhabitants was supplemented by clever speculations on the fear of the nightmare of atomic war and the fictional horrors of "communist enslavement."

If there were some "treasury" of vile chauvinistic and incendiary falsifications created by imperialist journalism, then the American illustrated magazine Colliers, published in the 1940s and 1950s, would certainly occupy one of the first places in it.

This magazine has made a considerable contribution to inciting the atmosphere of chauvinistic psychosis and militaristic frenzy in the USA. In 1951, Colliers devoted one of its numbers to a description of an alleged war between the USA and the USSR. The published reports with fictitious details relished the consequences of atomic explosions, the “capture” of the USSR by the Americans, the sending of the “defeated” as laborers to the United States, and the like.

A similar device of fear-mongering and spreading crude anti-communist nationalism, the purpose of which was to try to force ordinary Americans to agree to new military spending, was actively resorted to during the Cold War years by other US publications.

Despite the turn from the Cold War to détente that then began, the attention paid by imperialism to nationalist propaganda did not weaken, but, on the contrary, increased.

It is with nationalism that the modern bourgeoisie connects its main calculations of undermining the class basis of the social system in the socialist countries and anti-imperialist alliances in the developing countries, especially in those of them that have embarked on the path of socialist orientation. With the help of nationalist slogans, the ruling capitalist circles are striving to weaken the uprisings of the working people within their own countries as much as possible.

It can be said with certainty that never in the past has the imperialist bourgeoisie staked on nationalism so great as it does now.

In order to somehow justify the frequent use of nationalist techniques and methods in their propaganda, bourgeois ideologists talk a lot about the "fatal wave" of nationalism in the modern world and declare the national question "insoluble" both on the scale of one country, regardless of the nature of the system existing in it, and on an international scale. “Nationalism,” said the well-known bourgeois historian A. Toynbee, “is the strongest ideology in the world, no other ideology can resist nationalism if and when there is a conflict of interests.” The New York Times, on the other hand, went as far as to call the 20th century. "age of nationalism".

Although modern bourgeois journalism continues to use traditional forms and varieties of nationalism in its activities

(great-power and local chauvinism, petty-bourgeois nationalism, racism, Zionism, tribalism, fascism, etc.), it has now modified some specific methods and methods of nationalist propaganda, adapting to social and legal changes in the world.

This is mainly due to general changes in the tactics of modern anti-communism, with its use of more flexible and sophisticated methods of influencing the consciousness of the masses, with the need to take into account the national characteristics of the audience and conduct propaganda at the same time in groups of countries (capitalist, socialist and developing).

The creation and improvement of a highly developed mass media industry in the capitalist countries has significantly expanded the possibilities of a manipulative approach to national-ethnic problems. The achievements of scientific and technological progress in the field of collecting and disseminating information are used today not only for humane and noble purposes, but also for inhumane and anti-people ones, including for inciting national and racial hatred.

Since it has been established that socio-psychological aspects play an important role in instilling nationalism in general and nationalist ideology in particular, messages related to national-ethnic problems are quite often presented by bourgeois propaganda in an emotionally impressive and dramatized form, which, according to the ideas of anti-communists, can increase their manipulative effectiveness.

It is not surprising that in recent years, audiovisual media (radio broadcasting and television) have been actively used for this purpose, to a certain extent facilitating the use of false stereotypes and catchy appeals to the emotions and feelings of the audience compared to print.

Bourgeois radio broadcasting and television are increasingly acting as malevolent conductors and initiators of major nationalist and chauvinist campaigns of an anti-Soviet and anti-communist persuasion.

The most massive audience of nationalist propaganda is the population of the capitalist countries. Since the monopoly bourgeoisie is the ruling class in these countries, it indoctrinates the population on a large scale and relatively unhindered. Bourgeois propagandists are doing everything they can to embellish the ruling social system, to apologetize the system of state-monopoly capital and the bourgeois way of life, to sow distrust among various sections of the population in Marxism, in the USSR and other countries of real socialism. To achieve all these goals, nationalistic and chauvinistic prejudices that exist among certain groups of people are actively exploited. (…)

It should be noted that the attempts of imperialist journalism to make nationalism an important tool of ideological influence on the masses are objectively facilitated by the marked aggravation of the national question in a number of developed capitalist countries (for example, in Bedgia, Canada, Spain, Great Britain, Switzerland).

The revival of national antagonisms observed in these countries in recent years is not generated by some kind of "fatal" or "eternity" of nationalism, as bourgeois propaganda claims, but primarily by the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the social diseases of the antagonistic society - the uneven economic development in the regions of the country, discrimination against national minorities, their political and cultural inequality, etc. At the same time, the intensification of contradictions between national communities creates favorable ground for imperialist journalism to propagate chauvinism and local nationalism.

Representatives of the mainstream nationality are deliberately told that national minorities are undermined by their standard of living and rights; among the latter, in turn, arouse feelings of resentment and discontent.

Since the national movements in the countries mentioned above are often part of the general struggle of the working people against the dominance of monopolies and for democratic and fundamental social and economic reforms, nationalism is used in these cases as a serious obstacle to the transition of people to truly progressive positions. It is not surprising that individual participants in national movements, under the influence of bourgeois propaganda, embarked on the path of right-wing or “left-wing” extremism.

For example, when covering separatist sentiments in the province of Quebec, the bourgeois press in Canada inflicts enormous harm on their country. English-language newspapers sometimes rudely relish the facts of manifestations of discontent on the part of the French Canadians, mockingly write about the "intolerance" of the people of Quebec towards the English language, and accuse them of the lack of all-Canadian patriotism. In turn, the press organs of the French-Canadian bourgeoisie write exaggeratedly about the chauvinism of the Anglo-Canadians, about their "neglect" for the national culture of the population of Quebec. It is curious to note that both French-language and English-language bourgeois newspapers focus readers' attention primarily on cultural and linguistic conflicts and write very little about the socio-economic inequality of the country's national communities.

Canadian communists rightly see in this nationalism deliberately fanned in the country a great danger to the class unity of the working people. While condemning Quebec separatism, they at the same time call for genuine equality

between the country's two main national groups and resolutely oppose attempts by the monopoly bourgeoisie to limit the solution of the national question to cultural and linguistic reforms. Of course, the lack of proper unity between the workers of French and Anglo-Saxon origin objectively contributes to the weakening of their struggle against the common enemy - the Canadian monopolies and US imperialism.

In the US, nationalism usually manifests itself in the form of so-called Americanism. Monopoly journalism in the United States can rightfully consider itself the creator of some of the illusory myths of Americanism.

… According to the researcher of bourgeois propaganda Yu. A. Sherkovin, in the content of Americanism its main task is clearly traced - to erase the class self-consciousness of the masses and replace it with a hodgepodge of pseudo-patriotic slogans, illusory ideas about the "democratism" of American society and the "anti-democratism" of everything that opposes the social demagogy of the ruling elite and the nationalistic feelings of the American layman.

During the period of aggressive US actions in Indochina, the American media also talked about loyalty to the "ancestral heritage" in "defending the free world." Vietnamese patriots who defended the independence of their country were branded with them as “savages” and “supporters of the communist dictatorship”, and US soldiers who committed atrocities and murders of civilians were referred to as “liberators” and “saviors of civilization”. Their fellow citizens, who refused to follow the path of chauvinism and militarism and decided to take part in the anti-war movement, were rudely accused by US bourgeois propagandists of their lack of "patriotism." It was only the realization of the possibility of

defeat that subsequently forced part of the American press to criticize the Vietnamese adventure of US imperialism. (…)

Monopoly journalism does not disdain to resort to overtly racist attacks against foreign workers. She puts forward conjectures about their intellectual inferiority, moral and physical uncleanliness, confidentially advises her readers to beware of close communication with them. Not surprisingly, migrant workers are often denied decent housing or, at the request of the "public," evicted from areas where they allegedly threaten the peace of the population.

Of course, it would be wrong to think that the bourgeois press always writes about foreign workers in black colors. There are sometimes voices in the media in their defense and calls to make their lives easier.

Such sympathy, however, does not mean sincere benevolence. It is connected with the interests of the further intensification of capitalist production and with attempts to integrate foreign workers into the state-monopoly system. By some improvement in the living conditions of the "alien" workers, the aim is to create the prerequisites for intensifying the predatory exploitation of their labor. Big capitalists are also afraid of the uncontrolled development of tension in the sphere of national-racial relations, since this may affect their profits. Therefore, the tension in this area is artificially maintained at a certain level when it is possible to control the situation and at the same time interfere with the international unity of the workers. (…)

Recently, bourgeois journalism has again been actively using the provocative slogan "The Russians are coming!" pulled from the archives of the Cold War in order to weaken the powerful movement of opponents of the arms race. On the pages of the press of the capitalist countries, right-wing

politicians and NATO generals now and then call for vigilance and not to succumb to "peaceful exhortations", since, they say, only Moscow benefits from peace.

… Zionist propaganda is a special form of nationalist and racist-chauvinist propaganda by the big monopoly bourgeoisie. In modern research on the criticism of Zionism, it is rightly defined not just as the ideology of the big Jewish bourgeoisie, but also as the socio-political practice of Jewish monopoly circles closely associated with the imperialism of the United States and other Western countries. Therefore, Zionist propaganda should be regarded as an important link in imperialist and bourgeois-nationalist propaganda as a whole. “The nationalist approach of the Zionist leaders is often subordinated to their main class, pro-imperialist, anti-communist and anti-Soviet approach,” points out one of the leaders of the Israeli Communist Party, V. Erlich. - The Zionist leaders, and among them the rulers of Israel, are well aware of their place in the international, regional, and local class struggle on the side of imperialism and reaction ... Therefore, they sometimes provide covert and sometimes open support to the heads of the Arab pro-imperialist states and act incendiary against regimes of the Arab countries that have taken the non-capitalist path of development.

The Zionists, in their chauvinist and anti-communist activities, actively use the services of the monopolistic media. Many articles in the mass and "high-quality" bourgeois press, materials from telegraph news agencies, radio broadcasts and television programs prepared in the capitalist countries, to one degree or another, bear the imprint of the strong influence of Zionism. The Zionists have a particularly great influence in the US monopoly journalism, including in such well-known newspapers as the New York Times, Washington Post, Los

Angeles Times, Baltimore Sun, in the AP and UPI agencies, in three leading radio and television corporations.

A curious feature of the bourgeois-nationalist propaganda of Zionism is the clever speculation on the problem of anti-Semitism. The Zionists often explain the chauvinistic contempt for other peoples and speculation about the "exclusivity", "God's chosen" Jews by the Zionists, who allegedly exist among all other nationalities, by "eternal enmity" towards the Jews.

In reality, anti-Semitism is a product of the class struggle, and as a form of chauvinistic ideology and psychology that arises in the conditions of an antagonistic society, it has no prospects. But the Zionists, judging by many facts, are interested in inciting anti-Semitism in order to assert their narrow class goals more effectively. In an effort to stifle criticism against them, they call anti-Semites all those who oppose Zionism.

By skillfully dissecting news, monopolistic journalism covers many events in the world from positions acceptable to Zionism and, on the contrary, presents facts that are objectionable to it as manifestations of anti-Semitism. The bourgeois media are introducing into the consciousness of the world community the false stereotype of identifying the people of Israel with Zionism, and all Jews with Zionists.

One of the main objects of the fierce attacks of nationalist propaganda is the communist and workers' movement. The bourgeois press often depicts local communists as "foreign spies", calls them "the fifth column of Moscow", "tools of the Kremlin", acting to the detriment of national interests.

Accusing the communists of anti-patriotism, it tries, on the one hand, to compromise them in the eyes of the people, and on the other hand, to influence the communists themselves

and undermine the strength of their class internationalist solidarity. From the moment of its founding, for example, the GKP, the Communist Party of West Germany, has been subjected to rude attacks. The materials of many bourgeois newspapers of the FRG are full of various insinuations and allusions to the "anti-national" character of this party. Bourgeois journalism is also trying to evoke nationalist prejudices against local communists by propaganda among the population of Portugal, especially after the April 1974 revolution. authorities that “Red Army soldiers” would land in Lisbon and concentration camps with “Soviet guards” would be set up, etc. Western bourgeois propaganda intervenes very actively in the course of Portuguese events, publishing a mass of anti-communist fakes, which are then repeated in radio broadcasts to Portugal . (…)

The evolution of bourgeois journalism in its relation to the problems of the communist movement is very curious. Previously, it branded all communists, without exception, as the "worst enemies" of mankind, rudely poured mud, and usually hushed up many facts of the revolutionary activities of the communists, including congresses of the communist parties. Now, however, bourgeois propagandists, desiring a Social-Democratic degeneration of a number of communist parties, are demonstrating an unexpected "interest" in the problems of the communist movement, are publishing extensive materials on the situation in various communist parties, and almost like "friends" are advising and suggesting ways to "modernize" scientific socialism.

With clearly provocative intent, the bourgeois media divide communists into “good” and “bad”, “liberals” and “conservatives”, “democrats” and “dogmatists”, “progressives” and “orthodox”, etc. At the same time, they classify the communist parties into “independent” and

“dependent”, but as a criterion for their independence they put forward a “critical position” in relation to the CPSU. Real socialism in the USSR and the theory of Marxism-Leninism are declared by bourgeois ideologists to be a “purely Russian phenomenon”, supposedly not suitable for implementation in Western capitalist countries.

Historical experience irrefutably shows that class interests subjugate all other aspects of social life, including the national moment. The founders of Marxism-Leninism always gave priority to class rather than national criteria of social development.

In the socialist countries, therefore, there is no objective breeding ground for nationalism, and in the future it is doomed to complete disappearance here. However, at present, the likelihood of the emergence of various kinds of nationalist deviations in politics and the revival of nationalist prejudices among the population, which is often associated with ideological influence from outside, still remains.

This is precisely what imperialism is banking on.

More than 20 imperialist radio stations are engaged in sabotage propaganda against the peoples of the socialist countries. The volume of their programs, the power of transmitters are increasing from year to year, the staff of "specialists" on the problems of various countries is growing.

Applying in their work the so-called "differentiated approach", which consists in taking into account the national specifics of the country - the object of propaganda, these radio stations are trying to dull the consciousness of class internationalist solidarity in certain groups of the population. They parasitize in every possible way on the natural feelings of national pride and love for their homeland. At the same time, the most dirty work in the manufacture of nationalist

fakes is carried out by the American radio stations "Freedom" and "Free Europe", closely associated with the CIA, and rightly called the centers of "black propaganda" and "psychological warfare". "Svoboda" conducts propaganda in 16 languages of the peoples of the USSR, "Free Europe" - in 6 languages of the peoples of Eastern Europe. (…)

The nationalist propaganda of imperialism, directed at the population of the developing countries, is becoming more active and insidious every year. With the growing influence of these countries in world politics and with the intensification of class polarization within the national liberation movement, the monopoly bourgeoisie is visibly agitated and all the more persistently, not disdaining any means, trying to instill in the peoples of the newly-free countries crude anti-communism and their own moral and ideological values. By inciting nationalist sentiments, it hopes to put pressure on them and force them to take the path of a capitalist orientation.

With undisguised sympathy, bourgeois journalism supports those aspects of nationalism in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that contain reactionary (anti-popular and anti-communist) features.

In recent years in a number of developing countries there have been certain shifts in the alignment of sociopolitical forces caused by class differentiation in society. Although the nationalism of the ruling circles of the liberated countries, taken together, has not yet lost its general democratic content, expressed in its anti-imperialist orientation, nevertheless, the reactionary trend in its development, associated with the oppression of the national bourgeoisie of their own people, began to manifest itself much more noticeably than before.

… One of the favorite themes of modern bourgeois journalism is the theme of national and racial conflicts in various

developing countries, strife, and contradictions between the young newly-liberated states. Tribalism (tribal hostility), which is still far from outlived in some African countries, always receives wide publicity in the imperialist media. The love for such reports testifies to the obvious interest of bourgeois journalism in inciting nationalist and tribalist sentiments among the peoples of the former colonies. At the same time, it is curious to emphasize one important circumstance: if earlier the monopoly bourgeoisie was to some extent afraid of the activation of nationalist actions by the ruling elite of the newly-free countries, rightly believing that this could turn against them, now, knowing about the fear that appeared among this elite before their own people, it often itself contributes to the inflating of nationalism in such countries, hoping with its help to interrupt the radicalization of the socio-political situation and, most importantly, to prevent the national liberation movement from drawing closer to the world socialist system.

… Recently, there has been a significant increase in imperialist propaganda in the regions of the Near and Middle East, as well as North and East Africa. Taking into account the enormous importance in the modern world of countries rich in oil and energy resources, imperialism is carrying out colossal subversive work with a stake on reactionary nationalism, for example, in the Arab world, in every possible way pleasing bourgeois-bureaucratic and feudal-theocratic circles and at the same time striving to weaken the position of revolutionary democracy as much as possible. Information materials produced by Western bourgeois propagandists are widely distributed in developing countries both by monopolistic information services and by local pro-imperialist propaganda institutions. This interaction reflects the general policy of cooperation with imperialism pursued by the reactionary-nationalist leadership in a number of countries.

… The examples cited of appealing to nationalistic feelings through the use of techniques and methods of crude anti-Sovietism and anti-communism speak for themselves. Imperialist journalism and its allies, the reactionary nationalist media of the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, quite often resort to the most shameless lies and monstrous slander in order to achieve their goals. In order to discredit the USSR in the eyes of ordinary people, in particular, falsified materials are being planted in the developing countries about the "Russification" of various nationalities and the "defilement" of national and religious traditions carried out in the USSR. Nationalist propaganda in countries with the predominant influence of the believing population often parasitizes on the atheism of the Communists, calling them "God-opponents". At every opportunity, the allegedly "anti-national" character of the communist movement and the preference given by the communists to class problems are emphasized. Bourgeois journalism, striving to direct the socio-political development of young states along the path of capitalism, invents various kinds of "adversities" and "difficulties" that await the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America if, following the example of the USSR, they embark on the path of industrialization and a planned economy. With the help of techniques and slogans of nationalist propaganda, it tries to fulfill its main function - to retard the ever-increasing development of the world revolutionary process.

Racism

in 1906, an article by the anatomist R. B. Bean "The Negro's Brain" was published in the American journal Century. “Caucasian (a racist term used as a synonym for the word “white.” -Aut.) and Negro racial types,” it argued, “are at diametrically opposite poles of the evolutionary process ... It is useless to try to raise the general level of Negroes by

education or other methods ; it remains only to develop their natural inclinations ... Let them justify their existence by diligent service.

From the point of view of the features of modern racist propaganda, this example of racist myth-making can be considered outdated both in terms of the content of the declared ideas and in the form of an open appeal to the feeling of superiority of the white man. Only the racists of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia make official statements of this kind today, trying to justify their policy of apartheid against the black majority. In such countries of monopoly capital as the USA, Britain, France, and others, where segregation and discrimination laws have lost or are losing their legal force, only ultra-reactionaries dare to openly racist attacks. As for the official bourgeois propaganda in these countries, the mass media, they long ago abandoned the open preaching of hatred for "inferior" peoples.

Modern racist propaganda is carefully disguised and often difficult to recognize. But its strategic orientation remains unchanged at all times. The ideologists of racism in our time have to reckon with public opinion both in their own countries and abroad, which does not remain indifferent to all cases of violation of human dignity and the rights of peoples, national and racial minorities.

Racism and propaganda of racism are severely condemned in the UN Declaration and Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted respectively in 1963 and 1965, and other international documents. That is why the media and propaganda in the capitalist countries try to create the appearance of a successful solution to the racial problem, and make even more efforts to disguise their own role in planting a racist ideology. This is why modern racist propaganda resorts to all sorts of tricks to hide the fact that the

neo-racist myths it cultivates are far from new. This becomes clear if we trace the history and "evolution" of racist myth-making.

The racist ideology was born of the era of capitalism. As a social concept, it rationalized the privilege of some people and the legitimacy of the oppression of others on the basis of actual racial differences and presented as such. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie try to hide the historical and social class roots of the racist ideology in the first place.

Hence their desire to present racism as a universal, timeless phenomenon, independent of the nature of social relations, to reduce it to the problem of racial prejudices, which are presented as an instinctive property of the human psyche, which causes a reaction of suspicion, hostility, or prejudice towards representatives of a different ethnicity. Meanwhile, “the first assertion, to which the data of ethnography and history lead, is that racial prejudices do not have a general distribution and that they have arisen relatively recently ... Those whom the Greeks called "barbarians" were not seen as racially inferior, but simply as not reaching the level of civilization that the Greeks were at... The Christian religion... never created a racist ideology. Believers were set up by her against the "infidels", the Inquisition persecuted heretics and Jews, Catholics were at enmity with Protestants, but religious rather than racial motives were always brought to the fore.

The picture begins to change only when the period of European colonial expansion opens and when it becomes necessary to justify violence and oppression by declaring those whom the Europeans ... enslaved, or those whose countries they exploited, as inferior or not belonging to the human race...". (…)

The press did not call for the destruction of the blacks, since the working hands of the blacks were needed not only by the southern planters, but also by the northern capitalists of the United States. Therefore, the slogan of the bourgeois press, formulated by the southerners, was: "The Negro must know his place." In 1865, the southern newspaper The Jackson Daily News spoke directly and categorically on this subject: "We must keep the former slave in a subordinate position."

These laws, called "Jim Crow" laws, began to be introduced in the United States in the late 80s, became the legal basis for the social and economic enslavement of blacks who achieved liberation as a result of the Civil War of 1861-1865, which was quite in line with the interests booming industrial capitalism in the United States. The introduction of a new system of racial segregation and discrimination was accompanied by a powerful rampant reaction. According to. According to official statistics, significantly underestimated, from 1889 to 1901 there were 1955 cases of black lynching. From the side of the "liberal" northern press, which until recently stigmatized the southern Confederates, there were exclamations of approval. In 1898, the Philadelphia Record declared, "Obviously, we are only now beginning to Americanize Africans," and the Providence Journal pointed out that the black "perhaps could be made a more respectable citizen ...".

… During the transition of world capitalism to its highest stage, imperialism, and the entry of monopoly capital into the international arena, racist propaganda acquired a number of features that are largely characteristic of it in our time. We are talking about its functions, content, and methods.

Racist propaganda is also turning from an instrument of domestic policy into an instrument of foreign policy, and is being used by reactionary circles not only for the purpose of suppressing national minorities in the capitalist countries, but

also for fanning chauvinist sentiments in preparation for and during colonial and imperialist wars.

Racist propaganda begins to rely on a new, "rational" mythology, the creator of which was bourgeois science. The theoretical developments of the founders of "biological" racism, whose first generalizing works appeared in the middle of the 19th century, were carried out in two directions.

Firstly, the right of the white man to dominate over the black was “scientifically” substantiated. The black was already recognized as belonging to the human race, but he was declared a being of a lower order in comparison with the white, "inferior" in his naturally given qualities - intellectual, mental, spiritual, moral. All "scientific" argumentation boiled down to one idea: "black bears the curse of nature itself."

Secondly, the right to world domination of one of the nations was justified from the same pseudoscientific positions. On the basis of external morphological and anatomical features, some whites were proclaimed to be more complete than others. Thus was created the myth of the "Aryan" race.

… It is important to emphasize that bourgeois propaganda, in all cases when it tries to divert the anger of the masses from the true culprit of this or that crisis situation - the social system that gives rise to wars and lynching, monopolistic and imperialist circles, to which these crimes bring economic and political benefits, kindles between peoples racial hatred. Moreover, by attributing all sorts of "bad" qualities to the people of Germany or the black race, by creating a mythical enemy, racist and nationalist propaganda thereby justifies these crimes and seeks to secure the support of public opinion for the reactionary forces.

In the era of imperialism, when the national question has become a national-colonial question, racism and militant

nationalism have become the ideological weapons of reaction in all countries of monopoly capital.

… Thus, the content of racist myths, for all their multiplicity, was reduced to one idea: there are superior and inferior races, and the former have the right to dominate the latter. Racist propaganda tried to turn this idea into a dogma of public consciousness in the countries of monopoly capital, so that, if necessary, it would be easier to manipulate the masses, playing on their racial prejudices and prejudices.

As for the means of processing public consciousness, before the advent of radio and television, one of the most massive in terms of audience coverage was the bourgeois press. It was she who developed the main methods and techniques of racist propaganda. The racist ideology then had an official character, therefore it was proclaimed and propagated by the bourgeois press openly. Frank racist statements were encountered in editorials, and in the speeches of official and unofficial persons on the pages of newspapers and magazines, and in those positions of the theoreticians of racism, which were completely or partially reprinted by bourgeois periodicals.

…The bourgeois press also widely used the method of covert propaganda - hushing up, complete or partial, the existence of national and racial minorities; discrimination against them as a group unworthy of press coverage, not having the right to vote in the press, i.e., discrimination based on the amount of information about them; segregation according to the space allotted on the pages of newspapers and magazines for the publication of this information (for example, the Negro News column in American newspapers).

If in England, France, and other European capitalist countries the size of the "colored" population before the Second World War was insignificant and the bourgeois press of these

countries could refer to this fact as an excuse, then for the press of the United States, whose population is one of the most mixed and represented very 1 < large groups of various races and nationalities, such an excuse is invalid. The suppression of the existence of blacks, Indians, groups of Hispanic origin, etc. in the US bourgeois press was a consequence of its racist orientation (overt and covert), was a propaganda device for treating white readers in a racist spirit, a method of imperceptibly introducing into their minds the idea of their own superiority. and the inferiority of the "colored" ones since they are not even worthy of mention or are mentioned in specially allocated "serrated" headings.

In these headings, black appeared, as a rule, in criminal, sports chronicles and news about the cultural (musical) life of the country, and most of the crimes of blacks, according to American newspapers, were of a sexual nature.

The "Negro News" was a technique for instilling in the white reader the idea that the black is a congenital criminal, a sex maniac, though possessing good musical abilities and physical virtues, i.e. "beast", "animal", "athlete", "artist" .

These ideas, as already mentioned, the American seal proclaimed both directly and ultimately the White reader had to feel either hatred of the Black Beast, or condescending contempt for Nigger, incapable of anything worthwhile, by American standards. Therefore, "the Negro must know his place", and if he tries to rebel, then he is either again a "beast" (after all, his real target is white women), or "incapable of appreciating the greatest values of white civilization." However, the American bourgeois press during this period preferred not to write about the black rebels.

… The American bourgeois press, by means of magazine and newspaper journalism, created the image of the Negro, an

incorrect image, depriving him of a human face, extremely unattractive in the end. This image, or propaganda stereotype, regardless of what features this or that printed organ preferred to attribute to the black - negative (the Negro is a "born criminal") or the so-called positive (the Negro is a "slave by nature"), was designed to awaken the reader has negative feelings towards blacks, on the formation of a negative mindset of whites (hostility, prejudice). Stereotyping, i.e., the cultivation of such propagandistic stereotypes of the Negro on the pages of the bourgeois press, led to the fact that the reader arose and consolidated stereotypical, stereotyped ideas about blacks, which were introduced into his mind not only by the press, but also by all other means of ideological influence. - the church, the education system, legal institutions, means of artistic and aesthetic education, assimilation as a result of following the moral and ethical norms and standards of behavior that have developed in the family and society as a whole. This is how the socio-psychological phenomenon of the public consciousness of white America arose - racist "Negro" stereotypes, an element of the consciousness of almost every white American, a source of racial prejudice and prejudice.

Racist propaganda, even the crudest, in the period under review has not yet met in America with a sufficiently powerful opposition from public opinion; there were not many other factors that determine the methods of propaganda. Therefore, the US bourgeois press used the propagandistic stereotype of the Negro, if considered in terms of the methods of propaganda, as a means of open racist propaganda - mainly the characterization of the black was given either in one word (most often offensive), or in a declarative statement, clearly racist in content. The mastered techniques of hidden racist propaganda were: a mandatory reference to racial affiliation in materials about criminal crimes

and (until the 30s of the twentieth century), writing the word "Negro" is not with the title, as is customary in English for words indicating national affiliation , but with a lowercase letter.

On the pages of the southern press, a similar spelling of this word was found even at the beginning of a sentence and after a period.

The American bourgeois press also resorted to methods of manipulative propaganda - demagogy (false promises to blacks, false "patriotic" slogans, pseudo-concern about the position of blacks, condemnation of racist actions, etc.), but much more often to provocative methods - disinformation, and not only in military a time for inciting chauvinistic frenzy, but also in a peaceful time, in order to provoke racists into pogroms, lynching trials, inciting racist hysteria, when it was necessary to direct general dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in the country in a false direction. (…)

All these racist fabrications were intensively introduced into the consciousness of the masses. The gigantic propaganda machine of Nazi Germany systematically and systematically instilled in the population a sense of racial superiority, a sense of contempt and hatred for other peoples, inflamed base, and aggressive instincts, brought up “blond beasts”, “master race” from ordinary inhabitants. This was done with one goal - to turn a cowardly layman into a soldier capable of any crime.

Nazi racist propaganda was built, as far as its technique is concerned, on stereotyped slogans and clichés, systematically repeated day after day. Deliberate "primitivism" - that was Hitler's attitude. In his opinion, the masses are stupid and clumsy, so their consciousness reacts only to "a thousand-fold repetition of the simplest ideas." “Germans are a master race”, “Russian pigs”, “Jewish ruling class”, “dictatorship of the

lower", "black parasites of the nation", etc. - these are the main Hitlerite "clichés". (…)

Thus, the distinctive features of fascist racist propaganda were the undisguised rudeness and cynicism of the language, the open preaching of aggression, violence, hatred, and contempt, the most provocative and at the same time primitively crude fabrications, false patriotic slogans, i.e. open racism in all its too extreme manifestations. Hitler's propaganda machine relied on weapons and concentration camps. This was the main factor that made it possible to conduct the most unbridled racist propaganda. (…)

… the turbulent life of the 60s, which became the stage of an unprecedented rise in the liberation movement of blacks, made white Americans think too. In order to drown out the voice of reason, not proceeding from these tasks, the US bourgeois press began a massive indoctrination of the consciousness of Americans in several directions at once, often contradicting itself:

condemning racism, declared it a specifically "southern" phenomenon;

declared racism a universal phenomenon for the whole world;

announced that the racial problem in the country is being successfully solved;

attributed the difficulties of desegregation to the persistence of racial prejudice;

placed the blame for all injustices on the blacks themselves;

fanned racist sentiment through distorted coverage of both the daily life of Black America and the civil rights movement.

The first trend was short-lived and soon outlived itself. It was characteristic of the Northern press of the USA. The press in

the southern states, like the rest of the racist South, was hostile to black civil rights legislation. The resistance of the southerners received clear condemnation in the pages of northern periodicals.

In general, the traditional position of the North, which, while criticizing its southern neighbors, has always turned a blind eye to the facts of racism at home, has affected here.

Something else is much more important: in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the northern bourgeois press openly expressed its sympathy for the black liberation movement - a unique phenomenon for the American press and from the point of view of its usually sharply negative reaction to any manifestations of black discontent, especially attempts to shake the status quo system, and in terms of its usual tendency to hide behind a mask of impartiality when covering any issue. It is necessary to dwell on this phenomenon in some detail, because it sheds light on the true face of the American bourgeois press and its attitude towards "black America".

During these years, the main struggle of blacks for the abolition of Jim Crown laws in the field of education, voting rights, the service sector, for the implementation of the decision of the Supreme Court. The US of 1954 and other legislative acts unfolded precisely in the South and wore the form of "direct non-violent action" - a tactic put forward by Martin Luther King. The white racist South responded with violence, insults, threats, and arrests.

The events of May 1963 in Birmingham, when peaceful demonstrations of the city's black population faced the most brutal police terror, received a great public outcry. Even such a reactionary newspaper as the New York Daily News responded to them with an editorial condemning the rampant racists.

During this period he publishes the Daily News and indignant letters from his readers. "Wake up, Alabama! - wrote one American. “You really outdid yourself when you arrested the students.” The second reader asked the question: “When will this senseless racial discrimination be done away with? Don't southerners have any feelings, or at least just common sense? .

However, already during this period, all the hypocrisy of the bourgeois press and the demagogic nature of its speeches in defense of the black population of the USA are revealed. “The law protects us, it limits us. The Negro should and has the right to become a real citizen of his community and his country, - the Reader's Digest magazine broadcast in 1963, following the New York Times newspaper. - He will achieve this ... by wise and calm action. He will achieve this through patience and tolerance.

As you can see, the support and approval of the bourgeois press in the United States received only the methods of struggle of black America that did not go beyond the framework of "legality". This position was dictated by the desire to contain the scope of the civil rights movement, to give it a reformist character. At the same time, attempts were made to divert the black population from understanding the real causes of their oppressed position.

"Although the racial issue has important social implications," Readers Digest declared, "it is an entirely moral and spiritual issue." This idea, drawn from the works of the modernizers of racist theory, the authors of the concept of the instinctive nature of racial prejudice, seized not only the Digest, but the entire American bourgeois press, faced with the need to explain the reasons for the inferior status of blacks in the USA. Racial hatred (i.e., human nature again) was declared to be the culprit of racial trouble, the overcoming of which takes time, and "some integrationists, both black and white, are trying to

get ahead in too short a time," the Digest pointed out, do not understand that “relationships between people change gradually”, that it is necessary to “cultivate understanding” and not organize demonstrations of protest.

…the short period when the US bourgeois press was "friends" with the fighting black America ends as soon as the struggle takes on a truly massive character and its center shifts to the North. Negativism in depicting the black movement for equality - such was her reaction to the nomination by black America of demands not of formal, but of actual equality, to the sharp radicalization of the movement, the refusal of blacks from peaceful methods of struggle to the fact that they began to respond with violence to violence.

Now racist propaganda is relying on the "white boomerang", that is, it seeks to form in white Americans a sharply negative attitude towards the demands of blacks, towards all manifestations of their discontent.

The uprisings in the black ghettos of the northern cities were suppressed by the police and regular troops with merciless brutality. In an attempt to justify the repressive measures that fell on people driven to despair, the US bourgeois press began to shout about anarchy, a threat to public peace and property, the ingratitude of blacks, portrayed them as rapists, murderers, and robbers. (…)

The bourgeois press in the United States fomented racial enmity and hatred not only through distorted coverage of the events and actions of participants in the movement for the rights of national minorities in the country. A large propaganda load was carried by the widespread advertising of government measures in smoothing out racial conflicts, legislative acts on the civil rights of blacks, individual facts of the nomination of blacks to municipal bodies, supreme

authorities, appointments to prestigious positions from the point of view of the "white establishment", etc.

Materials of this kind did not just embellish the real state of affairs in the country. They were also designed to evoke a certain emotional reaction in the reader - indignation in the white, gratitude in the black. In other words, they had an undercurrent of racist overtones. The white audience was taught that the blacks were ungrateful, impatient; the blacks were brought up in conformist moods, distrust of those who declared that it was impossible to really solve the racial problem within the framework of the existing social system.

Hidden racist overtones were also found behind the outwardly objective, often with an admixture of sympathy, description of the living conditions of black prisoners of the ghetto, behind the analysis of the causes of social diseases of the slums - high crime, drug addiction, unemployment, etc.

For many years, racist propaganda claimed that all these phenomena are the result of the manifestation of the inherent depravity and inferiority of the Negroes, and they motivated the necessity and justification of segregation. After it was found to be contrary to the constitution, racist propaganda changed the course of the argument - it announced that the black had become a flawed and socially dangerous creature as a result of living conditions in the past that distorted his personality. In other words, the thesis of the biological inferiority of the Negro's wealth was replaced by the thesis of "acquired" inferiority, and the black Americans themselves are responsible for the fact that integration encounters resistance, that a person with black skin in the United States is at the very bottom of the social ladder.

The myth of the "curse of the environment", adopted by modern racist propaganda, has been carefully developed by

American bourgeois scientists in the field of social psychology and personality psychology. (…)

The desire to convince readers that there had been a fundamental improvement in the condition of all blacks became universal: the trend of the US bourgeois press during this period. It is no coincidence that in the pages of newspapers and magazines the number of "positive" articles about blacks has significantly increased compared to the past decade - evidence of their progress in one area or another. At the same time, the share of "negative" publications is decreasing - as a result of the almost complete disappearance of information about discontented and protesting blacks. This shift in emphasis in the depiction of black America has become a new feature of the veiled racist propaganda in recent years.

“Positive” material about Black America, presented in the form of career history of a “responsible” Black, statistics on significantly increased incomes of Black Americans, the number of college graduates, appointments to “prestigious” positions, etc., is aimed primarily at to give the impression of a successful solution of the racial problem within the framework of American "democracy", to testify to the veracity of the myth of "democratic" America.

Thus, the nature of the "racial news" on the pages of the English bourgeois press speaks, on the one hand of veiled propaganda of racism, and on the other, of its actual encouragement of racist terror in the country. However, the English press carefully conceals its pro-racist orientation, as well as the fact that the people it labels as "immigrants" are "virtually the same English. They have an English pronunciation, and they have all the certifying evidence of English nationality, except for white skin.

The desire to instill in consciousness. white readers the idea that those who have a different skin color are different from them and worse than them, is inherent not only in the American and English, but also in the French bourgeois press. The latter also resorts to the modern, veiled propaganda vocabulary of racism, and if during the Algerian War, as the French researcher K. Guillaumin points out, “the expressions“ terrorists ”,“ bandits ”and“ murderers ”(i.e. Algerians. -L . K.) paved. way of the army”, then in later years the road to racial animosity and hatred was paved by “special words, omissions or superfluous details - which apply only to “others” and are not used in news concerning the majority group.” K. Guillaumin conducted a study of the four leading popular newspapers in France, analyzed the news that were published by these newspapers on the same day - May 31, 1966, and concluded: "The linguistic mechanics used reveals the omnipresence of racist thinking."

The false stereotyped images of national minorities and non-white peoples, created by the bourgeois press, find their visible embodiment on the pages of comics and television screens. (…)

“As long as blacks do not have significant financial control over communications ...,” writes M. Johne in the Black World magazine, “there will always be a threat of cutting, censoring and distorting information about what is happening in the life of the black community ".

Blacks are beginning to understand that in the countries of monopoly capital there are economic levers of pressure on the media, that freedom of speech has become the privilege of the rich. But only an understanding of the social-class nature of racist propaganda, an understanding that bourgeois society as such is its source, can lead to the correct conclusion: it is possible to put an end to the propaganda of racial hostility

and hatred only by radically restructuring the nature of social relations, by changing the social class system that inevitably breeds racism.

Apology of Private Property

Individualism

In a capitalist society, where all social relations are determined by the dominance of private property, the bourgeois media cannot but act as preachers of individualism.

In the broadest sense, individualism means "a type of worldview, the essence of which is ultimately the absolutization of the position of an individual in his opposition to society ... ". This worldview can also manifest itself in philosophy, where it is inextricably linked with subjective idealism, and in sociological theories, proclaiming the eternal antagonism between the personal and the public, and in ethical concepts that affirm the primacy of the individual in its relations with society, and in real life positions. In the first three cases, individualism acts as an ideological category, in the last - as a psychological one.

Since philosophical, sociological, and ethical teachings constitute only the basis of propaganda activity and do not “go out” to a wide audience, the media researcher deals primarily with the last, psychological variety of individualism, which acquires the character of an ideological phenomenon as the subject of propaganda.

In this aspect, individualism appears, on the one hand, as a feature of certain social relations, on the other hand, as a “really working” (not theoretical) principle of morality.

It is quite obvious that when analyzing the content of the press, radio, and television broadcasts from the point of view that interests us, it should be understood first of all as a valid

moral principle that can be the subject of propaganda. However, the consideration of individualism as a feature of certain social relations is not discounted, because the propaganda of any principle is based on the reflection of the realities of social life.

Historically, individualism as a social phenomenon arose with the establishment of private property and the division of society into classes. But it received wide practical implementation and theoretical substantiation only with the development of capitalism.

At the same time, early ideological bourgeois individualism was surrounded by an aura of nobility and expediency. The formation of capitalist relations led to the fact that the goals of society, according to bourgeois theorists, began to be seen as "associated with the value, independence and protection of the individual, that is, as the goals of individualism."

According to the teachings of the humanists, the individual was freed from all obligations in relation to the anonymous whole. Personality was conceived "as an independent and supreme social value, as an end in relation to which all social institutions and other people act only as means" .

At an early stage of capitalist development, this concept played a positive role in the struggle for the liberation of man from the fetters of feudalism and the church. However, it, like the social relations that gave birth to it, was internally contradictory. If all social institutions and other people are only a means for “me”, then, for another person, “I am also nothing more than a means. Relationships based on mutual use will inevitably be selfish. ."

With the loss of the progressive historical role of capitalism, this logical ending, this contradiction of the teachings of the

Enlightenment, came to light in all its fullness, and bourgeois individualist philosophy acquired a reactionary character.

As for the “actually working” psychological bourgeois individualism, despite the historically progressive role it played, from the very beginning it resulted in practice in a “war of all against all”, which became more and more fierce as capitalism developed. However, the class of proprietors could not and cannot renounce individualistic psychology (as well as individualistic ideology), for this would mean renunciation of private property, of the very foundations of the bourgeois system. Therefore, psychological individualism still remains an integral feature of the capitalist way of life, and bourgeois propaganda tirelessly extols its values - objects of interest and daily guidelines for the behavior of an individual in objective and social reality. The main place among them is occupied by the idea of free enterprise generated by the domination of private property.

The praise of the entrepreneurial initiative, without regard to its relation to genuine public interests, permeates literally all capitalist publications, the propaganda products of all radio and television stations.

… From free enterprise as a spiritual value of the bourgeois press, radio, television organically follows the promotion of competition between individuals in any field, and above all in the field of economics.

The capitalist mass media present the "struggle for a separate existence", "relying only on oneself" as a natural and reasonable feature of life. In a competitive environment, when "everyone looks at the other only as an object for use ... and it turns out that the stronger tramples on the weaker", personal success becomes the subject of the most enthusiastic reverence.

Bourgeois propaganda literally idolizes those who managed to "break out into the people."

On the pages of newspapers and magazines, in radio and television programs, such an expression as “a man who made himself” (self-made man) was born and became a common verbal cliché.

In sensationalizing the mysterious disappearance of one of the American union leaders, Newsweek magazine did not fail to emphasize his business success: “As head of the culinary union, Elmer Bromlet turned it from an anemic collection of unskilled temporary workers into the most powerful labor organization in the state of Nevada. In the course of this, he had a brilliant personal career...”

Notes of touching admiration are also imbued with the lines of Time magazine, dedicated to one of the leaders of the American auto industry - F. Caldwell: "A Ford veteran, he was sent to straighten things out at Filco Ford...later became head of the firm's European subsidiary, and shortly thereafter took charge of all of Ford's international operations outside the US and Canada."

With open approval (or at least without open censure), the same Newsweek recounted the confession of a prominent industrialist, whose small enterprise grew in the postwar years into one of the largest Japanese corporations, the Honda Motor Company: “To be honest, I never had no intention of promoting the public good. All I wanted to do was make money. However, when a company grows, it is forced to say something about its social contribution, to take into account the requirements of social responsibility. I have never had this spirit of holiness, and if anyone tells you that this spirit has constantly possessed him, he is lying.”

In this understanding and in such a propaganda interpretation, “the idea of “personal success” is a consistent expression of the principles of bourgeois individualism, which puts forward not the public good, not the good of the collective, not the good of the individual as a member of society and the collective, but the success of the individual, success as the realization of his private interest, isolated and even opposed to the private interests of other people and the interests of society as a whole.

It is no coincidence that, while glorifying luck and the fortunate, the bourgeois mass media practically ignore the theme of labor and, moreover, its social significance. If this topic is touched upon in capitalist publications, in radio and television programs, it is only in terms of resourcefulness, business resourcefulness of "people who have made themselves."

Not without interlinear sympathy, Time magazine once informed its readers about the "labor action" of senior employees of the McDonald company, which owns a whole chain of eateries in the United States. When there was a slight drop in income, the company's leaders, headed by its president, personally stood behind the counters of their enterprises, and having studied the situation in this way, ordered to introduce a number of innovations in customer service. As a result, the magazine reported, thousands of fast-food firms increased their total turnover by millions of dollars.

The values of individualism leave their mark on the attitude to education and knowledge. “Education is important, but college does not guarantee happiness,” an American magazine proclaimed, for example, through the mouth of the already mentioned Japanese billionaire industrialist S. Honda. -I went to college ... and used the knowledge practically. I told the college president that I prefer a movie theater ticket to a

degree, because a ticket at least guarantees you a seat in the theater, and a degree does not guarantee a job. Such reasoning is not uncommon in the bourgeois media. It is understandable: education, like labor, like any human activity, acts in capitalist society only as a means, an instrument "to achieve other goals that lie outside the activity itself." Among them, private monetary interest appears to be decisive, or, in the words of F. Engels, “wealth, once again wealth and thrice wealth, wealth not of society, but of this separate individual…”.

The value of a person in the world of capital is determined "not by the objective usefulness of his labor, his abilities, properties and qualities for society, but by the presence of money, capital in him, his chances of participating in and winning the competitive struggle, the conjuncture of this struggle." The socio-economic position of a person turns out to be more important than his individual characteristics, “the self-affirmation of a person as a person is carried out. (…)

The desire for goods for the sake of goods takes on ugly forms when, in an attempt to assert one's individuality, a person actually manifests crude individualism. The outwardly dispassionate fixation of such phenomena in the mass media turns into an encouragement of the individual, as happened, for example, with the material of the magazine "Time", dedicated to the life of pop stars. "They don't own Los Angeles, at least not yet" this organ of the bourgeois press narrated in a calm tone. - But they own some of the best mansions in the Beverly Hills and Malibu areas. Using unlimited wealth can be amazing when it becomes a lifestyle.

Los Angeles architect David Tobin recognized this two years ago when he undertook a $50,000 renovation of Bob Dylan's home. This is how he says: “I quickly realized that this guy has so much money that he does not need to obey any of the rules that bind me ... I had to remain quite serious when Dylan

declared that he wanted to have a living room, in which he could ride a horse..."

The following are the words of the architect about the house of the director of popular recordings E. Cooper: “The mansion was built for a person who has nothing to do with entertainment. The non-entertainment rooms (pool, table tennis, Chinese billiards) are littered with dials, dials, levers, and buttons for the Cupertronics recording system. Here is what he says (E. Cooper. - Yu. V.): “I built all this myself. It's a ridiculous house for a ridiculous person, but I like it." Forty-three-year-old British musician John Mayall sees luxury differently. The floor of his pool is painted with pornography. He has the largest pornographic collection in Los Angeles."

Such descriptions of consumer individualism have a certain effect on the consciousness of the masses in bourgeois society. As a result of a large study, American social psychologists M. and K. Sheriffs came to an unambiguous conclusion: “The values and aspirations inherent in young people in all areas reflect the image of individual success in America, as it emerges in the magical world of television, films, newspapers, magazines, and popular books. The ingredients of this image are comfortable homes, cars, nice dresses, free money, leisure, and entertainment. Regardless of their present conditions, the majority of young people are more discriminating and more precise, down to the smallest detail, about the kind of cars they want to have now and in the future than about choosing their life's work.

The reality of the capitalist world has largely become the disunity of people, the feeling of hopeless loneliness. In this regard, it is not without interest to refer to the review of the play "Return", published in the magazine "The New Yorker". In the author's opinion, the performance deserves to remain on the New York stages for quite a long time, as it contains

meaningful reflections on the successful and unsuccessful from the environment of the modern "middle" class….

As can be seen from what has been said, the spectacle irrefutably proves that capitalist competition and success, understood in a bourgeois way, liberate “the individual from the power of group communal ties. But the flip side of this freedom is powerlessness and loneliness. However, the assessment of the situation by the reviewer is quite unambiguous: one must accept life as it is, it is useless to look for another way out. Thus, voluntarily, or involuntarily, a bourgeois publication preaches the eternity of individualistic psychology.

Speaking of individualism, it is impossible not to touch upon such a phenomenon as escapism, or psychological escape from reality (from English escape - flight, departure). Capitalist journalism has the most direct relation to it. It is precisely this that very often acts, so to speak, as a material means of escapism.

Far more than one researcher noted the predominantly entertaining nature of the publications of the bourgeois press, radio, and television broadcasts. Even in the general political bourgeois newspapers, up to 75% of the materials are descriptions of the outfits of movie stars, scandals, and secular gossip. Take at least one issue of the English (and, by the way, not the most sensational) newspaper The Daily Express, for example, dated February 12, 1977. About 26 of its pages are filled with advertising, sports (with an emphasis on horse racing forecasts, bets, and winnings) materials, astrological calendars. The remaining 10 pages are for the most part devoted to entertainment or private affairs and matters.

Therefore, the so-called popular publications, radio, and television programs relish in detail the crime and violence,

widely resort to overt or thinly veiled pornography. Even specialized pornographic magazines are coming out, flooding the bourgeois reader's market.

However, as extreme manifestations of individualism, crimes, debauchery, and petty-bourgeois anarchism contradict not only the interests of the representatives of the ruling class as individuals, but also bourgeois norms of behavior, universal elements in the content of bourgeois law and morality. Therefore, they are officially condemned as lifestyle traits and are not openly supported in the capitalist media as patterns of behavior. In particular, high-quality bourgeois newspapers intended for the ruling class are not fond of savoring crimes and photographs of half-naked beauties, and in some of their publications they even directly condemn violence, petty-bourgeois anarchism, and sexual immorality.

The contradiction between the values of individualism and norms as models of social behavior manifested itself already at an early stage in the development of the bourgeois social formation.

In present-day conditions, when, with the establishment of state-monopoly capitalism, production is becoming more and more socialized, this contradiction has intensified immeasurably. The practical implementation of such fundamental values of individualism as free enterprise and wealth, for the vast majority of the population of capitalist countries, is actually reduced to zero.

The luxurious way of life reflected in the bourgeois TV shows, the Morning Star, the English communist newspaper, noted, is "as remote from millions of television viewers as the moon."

…. In view of this “change of milestones” in bourgeois ideology, the capitalist mass media are increasingly tending to propagate, along with the values of individualism, the norms

of a certain collectivity. They often operate with the categories of "national goals", "public good", etc. For example, supporting the policy of freezing wages and the so-called social contract, capitalist propaganda in Great Britain has been calling on British workers for many years to "tighten their belts" in order to overcome the economic crisis in the interests of the whole nation.

The invariable zealots of "compatibility" are the internal press organs of firms and enterprises - a kind of bourgeois newspapers. Take, for example, the Cape News publication of the Cape Asbestos Group, a large British concern for the production of building materials, which has branches in many capitalist countries. Published about once every two months in eight small-format pages and printed in a bright magazine style on glossy paper, this large-circulation constantly preaches "harmony of interests" within the company, the unity of the whole and the personal. (…)

The “collectivism” of employees of a separate capitalist enterprise, preached in bourgeois, many trains, are equally insolvent. As V. I. Lenin pointed out, “Monopolies, growing out of free competition, do not eliminate it, but exist above it and next to it .... calling the workers to work diligently on the company, the internal publications of the capitalist enterprises are called not to work for the benefit society.

Politically, they seek to subordinate the efforts of the personality to achieve the success of one monopoly in the competition against the other. This is all the same group individualism, but not at the level of the ruling class as a whole, but at the level of its separate fraction. In this case, traditional bourgeois individualism only takes a new form corresponding to the state-monopoly stage of development of capitalism.

In fact, the propaganda of the struggle for the success of the concern is essentially cultivating all the same individualistic values -free entrepreneurship and competition. Behind the thesis of the bourgeois propaganda “The benefit of the company is a false idea of the harmony of the interests of labor and capital.” The decisions of the material needs of the work of the hard -dried -up “is put into direct dependence on increasing the profits of corporations”.

In practice, this often leads to the preaching of conformism. Expressed in submission to a certain standard of behavior, conformism “sometimes seems to be just an imperfect form of collectivism. In fact, it grows out of the same social roots as individualism: both are based on the idea ... of the collective as some kind of external force. Only in one case, they try to fight this force, and in the second, they passively obey it.

Such subordination often bears the character of bare calculation. Bourgeois conformism "is by its nature the observance of the norms of "decency for the sake of" and presupposes the existence of other "substantial" motives of activity, in relation to which it is a purely external shell."

In other words, the apparent submission to the illusory whole serves for the conformist only as a means to achieve his goals. “Competition for the most qualified support for the work of the organization, the most effective achievement of its “good” becomes a form of personal competition among representatives of the engineering, technical, administrative, and scientific personnel of corporations.”

And bourgeois propaganda supports it in every possible way. (…)

At first glance, such publications serve a quite reasonable purpose - to briefly acquaint the employees of the concern with the person who has taken a responsible post. But in the

conditions of the incessant competitive struggle for positions and ranks, they objectively become a form of propaganda of the enduring value of bourgeois individualism - personal success. Only here it is placed within the framework of a capitalist corporation. The subtext of every biography of a successful manager tells the reader: try hard, work for the company, and you will achieve the same, if not more. Thus, in the propagandistic activity of large-circulation newspapers adapted to the needs of the bourgeois organization, the traditional cult of personal success takes on the appearance of careerism.

The entire illusory nature of preaching corporate "collectivism" is clearly revealed when the bourgeois "big" press refers to the comparison of service in a capitalist enterprise with the position of a private owner. The English newspaper The Daily Express once devoted a whole page to the problems of small business. Unable to remain silent about the growing power of monopolies, she stated that the number of bankruptcies in 1977 was the highest since 1960 all products and services, providing employment for 10 million of men and women. And, despite the growing burden of taxes, bureaucracy and legislation, people still have a strong desire to start their own business. (…)

In all likelihood, it would be wrong to say that the author of every note praising the so-called human relations, the atmosphere of friendship and camaraderie in a corporation, is deliberately lying, deliberately deceiving the reader. But subjective ideas and subjective honesty do not change the essence of the matter. Calls for collectivism, comradeship, integrity under the dominance of private property pour out, regardless of the will of the author, into the preaching of "surrogates of collectivity." In any of its cuts, bourgeois

collectivism is individualism turned inside out. It is aimed at suppressing the class consciousness of the masses.

But despite the efforts of bourgeois propaganda, genuine collectivism is maturing and establishing itself in the working class of the capitalist countries. The attraction of the proletarian to the masses, according to G. V. Plekhanov, "is directly proportional to his desire for independence, his consciousness of his own dignity, in a word, the development of his individuality."

The prospect of such a development is opened before the worker not by individualism, preached by the bourgeois mass media directly or in the form of an illusory collectivism, "not by the very process of labor of workers in a capitalist enterprise, but by their class struggle - economic and mainly political."

It is aimed not only at protecting the immediate vital interests of the working people. In essence, it is conducted for the triumph of truly collectivist relations, because, as K. Marx and F. Engels pointed out, only “in the collective does the individual receive the means that enable him to develop his inclinations in a comprehensive manner, and, therefore, only in the collective is personal freedom possible” .

Acquisitiveness -money-grubbing

The whole system of human values of bourgeois society is based on material wealth. The desire for enrichment also took place in pre-capitalist eras, but did not become a “passion in essence”, “acquisition and consumerism did not claim to be the universal form of communication”, as in capitalist society.

Acquisitiveness has its origins, roots. The orientation of bourgeois society towards hoarding, acquisitiveness is due to its private property nature. The basis of the capitalist system -

private ownership of the means of production, which gives rise to exploitation and social inequality, is considered a sacred, eternal category, and all the institutions of the bourgeois state guard its inviolability and inviolability. Private property and acquisitiveness are inextricably linked.

Acquisitiveness as a "value" of the bourgeois way of life has a class character. K. Marx and F. Engels called greed, money-grubbing among the main features of the psychology of the bourgeois. F. Engels, for example, in his work The Condition of the Working Class in England, wrote about the English bourgeoisie: knows no other bliss, except quick enrichment, knows no other suffering, except for monetary losses.

The petty bourgeoisie is also infected with money-grubbing. But the acquisitive psychology is also imposed on the working people, instilled in the whole of society and passed off as universal.

Acquisitiveness, hoarding, acquisitiveness lie at the heart of bourgeois ideology, but these are “values” that are alien to the true needs of man and oppose social progress.

Money is the god of the capitalist world, value No. 1, the universal measure of the significance of the individual. A person is judged here not by work, not by personal merit, but by his wealth.

K. Marx and F. Engels noted in "The German Ideology" that in a capitalist society money is an established basis for comparison, a criterion for evaluating all people and things. A vivid confirmation of this function of theirs is the activity of the mass media, which reflect and propagate the "values" of bourgeois society. The pursuit of the golden calf is encouraged by bourgeois propaganda, and especially in the open, noisy form in the United States. The American sociologist L. Gurko wrote in his book “The Crisis of the American Spirit”: “... our

mass propaganda media with extraordinary accuracy reflect many features of our purely bourgeois nation: its passion for money-grubbing, its sentimentality and a strange mixture of nobility and cynicism."

That US newspapers evaluate a person not in mind, spiritual qualities, utility for society, but in his wealth, writer E. Sinclair in the journalistic book "Copper Mark" showed at the beginning of the century. "On each page, on each column of the American newspaper," he wrote, "it is prompted: have money, and everything else will be followed -in the features you will become Lredmet's attention of newspapers ... I watched both the big daily metropolitan newspapers and the newspapers In large and small cities, I still did not find newspapers in America, which would not worship the golden calf and would not consider local financial aces at least for the demigods. The interests of these Olympians, their sport, secular zhpnz, their political views, each of their movement are considered a newspaper as a subject of deep interest for any American reader. "

Currently, the Bourgeois remedies of mass rates are promoting the cult of wealth and rich, and the "traditional" objects of attention and glorification -industrial and financial magnates -successful dealers who made business on half -pits, "stars" of pop, cinema, and television are brought to.

The "success stories" of individuals who are so fond of publishing bourgeois buildings are, first of all, a description of the way these individuals enrich themselves. They necessarily report how much (usually scanty) a person started his path to success and how much capital he amassed. For example, Reader's Digest summarizes the path of the surrealist artist S. Dali to his fame, frankly, scandalous: "Starving in the early 30s, today he is a multimillionaire and, perhaps, the most famous living artist. At the first Paris exhibition, the highest

price for his painting was $500, not so long ago a Dali painting was sold in New York for $245,000." (…)

In the world that comics present to children, gold is fetishized, "acts as an actor, director and producer", everything is bought and sold here, people appear as "purses or small change". Thus, the acquisitive ideals of the adult world are actively introduced into the minds of children. .

The motto of the American way of life "make money" (make money), which has become the slogan of the entire capitalist world, is, in the view of bourgeois propaganda, a determining factor in solving many problems. For example, the New York Daily News understands the problem of women's equality as follows: in order to achieve equality with men, women need to ... "make money."

The newspaper says in one of its issues that the insurance agent K. Olson decided to make a business by issuing a directory containing information about business women who own industrial enterprises, shops, offices, etc. Olson stated on the pages of the newspaper: "I believe in business . And I certainly believe that a woman can make money."

Business women are invited by bourgeois propaganda to "make money", but not business women remain the traditional path of success and enrichment - to become a wife or, at worst, a rich man's mistress. Following the money is also a great fortune for them. The West German magazine Quick, for example, reported that 12 beloved women of the late US oil billionaire P. Getty now inherit a fortune of several million marks, and noted with pride that there were three German women among the lucky ones.

Mass media in a capitalist society, actively introducing acquisitive ideals into the consciousness of readers, themselves act as acquisitive, "money makers" and do not hide

their aspirations. V. I. Lenin defined one of the functions of the bourgeois press as the enrichment of the rich, calling newspapers an instrument of profit for the rich.

The late Lord Thomson, owner of a vast publishing empire, spoke of "acquiring newspapers to make money and making money to acquire newspapers."

The Daily News, speaking of the People magazine published by Time Incorporated since 1974, devoted to "personalities", emphasizes that "this business makes money, and this, according to its owners, is the most important thing. The future of the new weekly as a money maker is very, very bright."

When it comes to their own profits, the demagogic declarations of the media about the desire to objectively inform the public and serve society recede into the background. Making money, obtaining money that provides power and influence, is one of the first tasks, a stimulus for the activity of bourgeois publications, radio, and television.

The strength and power of money in a capital society is personified by millionaires and multi-millionaires. Their biographies constantly fill the pages of the press, especially mass magazines. Many publications have bypassed the biographies of the richest people in the world - the American oil tycoon P. Getty, the Greek shipowner A. Onassis, the American billionaire G. Hughes. After their death, the bourgeois press of Western Europe and America was busy clarifying the question of the size of the fortunes left by them and dividing them among the heirs.

The mass bourgeois press propagates the illusion that anyone in a capitalist society can succeed, achieve wealth, and influence, and become a millionaire. (…)

The bourgeois press, in particular the American press, is actively planting the cult of millionaires in society. In describing them, she developed certain standards: millionaires are the backbone of the nation, they care not so much about their own interests as about the good of the country, charity is their second profession. But the press is silent about the fact that millionaires have made their fortunes by exploiting, plundering the national wealth of the United States and other countries, that by allocating a certain share of their wealth to charitable foundations (tax-free), they pursue selfish goals. (…)

One of the ways to get rich, advertised by the press, is business on politics. The International Herald Tribune states that "the highest government positions can lead to instant enrichment", an example of this is H. Kissinger, who retired from the post of Secretary of State and went into business on the memories of his activities. The English newspaper "Sun" under the headline "The Man with Seven Million Dollars" published a message from New York that H. Kissinger would receive a total of $7 million for his memoirs and television appearances, that "his book of memoirs will be the most expensive in history". And "Nixon," the newspaper adds, "will get less than -$2 million for his book of memoirs."

In the world of capital, one of the sources of profit is also professional sports. The bourgeois press writes a lot about him. The "heroes" of such publications are those athletes who have earned the most money. (…)

Talking about the "success" of today's nouveaux riches, freshly minted millionaires succeeding in "making money" on best-selling writing, "pop music", racing, etc., the magazine claims that "most Americans today are, to a large extent, than earlier, make rich fortunes. If a person fails on the path to achieving wealth, then this happens, according to one of the newly-

minted millionaires, because he resigned himself, stopped his attempts to succeed. The reactionary **meaning of planting such illusions is obvious:** to direct people's efforts into a channel that is safe for the capitalist system, to **smooth out social conflicts**, and to prevent a class struggle.

Foreign publications in the United States, radio and television programs are actively promoting the false American concept of achieving wealth; it is implanted in the minds of the masses by means of the ideological influence of other capitalist countries. The ideas of acquisitiveness and hoarding are also popularized in promotional materials, in particular in advertisements for banks and insurance companies. “Invest money and it will bring you benefits” is the standard motto of advertisements of large and medium-sized banks, national and international in newspapers and magazines. Calls to put money in banks are motivated by the interests of the country and business. (…)

Wealth in the bourgeois world borders on crime. On the one hand, many fortunes are made dishonestly, on the other hand, they serve as an object of encroachment and theft. The bourgeois press, as you know, is replete with sensational criminal chronicles. One of the central places in it, along with reports of crimes for sexual reasons, is occupied by criminal cases related to money: theft, bank robbery, kidnapping of children for ransom, murder for money, etc.

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The spirit of profit, characteristic of the bourgeois media, is also manifested in the coverage of scandalous cases, the description of major robberies, which are declared "robbery of the century." Thieves of large sums become "heroes" of the press, their life of crime. described in the smallest detail, shoot interviews with their relatives, their photographs fill the streets of bourgeois publications. Examples of this.. (…)

… Bourgeois ideology, the system of "values" of the world of capital are in deep crisis. The pursuit of money has a detrimental, corrupting effect on people, leads to the degradation of moral values, to the dehumanization of the individual.(…) … The revolt of the youth in the second half of the 60s - early 70s in the capitalist countries was also directed against the traditional "values" of the bourgeois world.

… Progressive writers of the West have always opposed the spirit of acquisitiveness, greed, petty-bourgeois selfishness, with their work they passed a guilty verdict on bourgeois civilization, which proclaimed the pursuit of wealth the basis of human existence. But the mass media continue to encourage the pursuit of wealth, to inculcate an acquisitive orientation in order to consolidate the political and ideological dominance of the bourgeoisie, to distract the masses from thinking about social injustice in capitalist society, from the class struggle.

The myth of "equality of opportunity" on the path to success serves as an ideological cover for the existence of social inequality in bourgeois society, which is especially clearly revealed in the conditions of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism.

The socialist system provides people with genuine benefits, true values. Under socialism, the measure of a person's significance is his labor, creative activity for the benefit of

society, his personal merits. Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR states: "Socially useful labor and its results determine the position of a person in society."… "acquisitiveness, private property tendencies ... contradict the very essence of our system."

The socialist mass media aim the working people at the preservation and increase of social wealth and wage a struggle against the pursuit of profit, hoarding as remnants of capitalism in the minds and activities of people.

Philistinism

Philistinism as a phenomenon that incorporates class affiliation, economic situation, political views, moral and ethical makeup, and psychological attitude, has its own history and etymology in philosophical, sociological understanding and practical everyday interpretation.

The words of A. V. Lunacharsky can serve as a methodological setting for studying it:

“Philistinism is an extremely complex phenomenon. Here one cannot get away with a victorious formulation, a crystal clear and even "obligatory" definition, here a historical and sociological classification is necessary.

The evolution of the very concept of philistinism in various languages can serve as a kind of confirmation of these words, which is reflected in explanatory dictionaries and encyclopedic publications in different countries. In Russian, the word "philistinism" **in addition to its direct meaning** - the estate of the petty bourgeoisie - also acquired a figurative one, embodying the most important features of this estate.

In pre-revolutionary reference publications, only the original meaning of this word is given - as a designation of belonging to the lowest of the five categories of urban residents.

In the 30s, in the explanatory dictionary edited by D.N. Ushakov, the figurative meaning of the word “philistine” was first noted, meaning a person “with petty, limited, proprietary interests and a narrow ideological and social outlook.”

Later, this concept deepened, and in the 50s it was interpreted as "the psychology, ideology and behavior of the tradesman, philistine". In the latest edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia, the word "philistine" is interpreted in its figurative meaning: "... . philistines are called people whose views and behavior are characterized by egoism and individualism, acquisitiveness, apoliticality, lack of ideas, etc.” - and in conclusion, it is recommended to refer to the article "The Petty Bourgeoisie".

In English, German, and French, two different names are used to express two concepts - “the estate of the petty bourgeoisie” and “philistinism” in the sense of philistinism, philistinism, small-property narrow-mindedness, spiritual poverty, narrow ideology - two different names are used: in the first - “Petty bourgeois” and “ philistinism", in the second - "Jueinburgertum" and "Spienomicburger" or "Philister", in the third - "petite bourgeoisie" and "mesquinerie, trivailite".

The very fact of the existence in Western European languages of different names to define the petty bourgeoisie from a class and cultural-ethical point of view, perhaps, is accidental, but it carries important information. In contrast to the expressively colored Russian "philistinism" and its synonyms in Western European languages, they do not contain a connection with the ideology and psychology of the middle classes.

From the class point of view, petty bourgeoisie was comprehended by the founders of scientific communism; their conclusions about its dual, contradictory nature became the

basis for further research. In the work “On Proudhon (Letter to J. B. Schweitzer)”, K. Marx wrote:

"The petty bourgeois ... is made up of 'on the one hand' and 'on the other hand'." He is such in his economic interests, and therefore in his politics, in his religious, scientific, and artistic views. Such is he in his morality, such is he in everything (in everything. -Ed). He is contradiction incarnate."

It should be borne in mind that people of various classes can be spokesmen for the views of the petty bourgeois. “By their education and individual position, they may be as far from them as heaven is from earth,” Marx wrote in The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. What makes them representatives of the petty bourgeois is the circumstance that their thought is not able to transcend those limits that the life of the petty bourgeois does not transcend, and therefore theoretically they arrive at the same tasks and solutions to which the petty bourgeois is led practically by his material interest and his social status" .

This idea of K. Marx later found its development in the works of V. I. Lenin and G. V. Plekhanov.

Plekhanov, analyzing philistinism from class, Marxist positions, pointed out that one of the first to understand that philistinism has its roots in private property was A. I. Herzen: “It was not for nothing that he went through the school of Hegel ... He persistently repeats that the opinions of the Western European world are ruled by the “merchant” or “small property”, that is, economics.”

A. M. Gorky has entered world literature. In his works of fiction and critical articles, the writer revealed the psychology, or "the structure of the soul," as he called it, of the tradesman of his day.

In Notes on Philistinism, Gorky wrote: “Fetishism is the structure of the soul of a modern representative of the commanding classes. The main notes of philistinism are an ugly developed sense of ownership, an always intense desire for peace inside and outside oneself, a dark fear of everything that in one way or another can frighten this peace, and a persistent desire to quickly explain to oneself everything that shakes the established balance of the soul, which violates the usual views on life and people.

The theoretical development of the concept of "philistinism" was continued by A. V. Lunacharsky. He sort of combines the main directions in his research and considers philistinism as an estate and as a specific psychological state of the individual. Lunacharsky raises a number of important problems that have become very topical in our day.

Developing the thoughts of K. Marx and V. I. Lenin about the inconsistency, duality of the petty-bourgeois character, he comes to the conclusion that the very “two souls” of the petty-bourgeois cause “... on the one hand, the desire for equality, on the other, the desire to rise” and give rise in a society where “the poor are taken away, and the possessors are given”, two types of bourgeois - “aggressive, dreaming of exaltation”, and “drowning”, continuing to “shout about justice”.

It was these qualities of a petty-bourgeois character that the fascists used in their time, going to power. Being essentially a dictatorship of the big industrial and financial bourgeoisie, fascism in its propaganda appealed primarily to the petty-bourgeois ideology of the petty bourgeoisie and skillfully manipulated the feelings and moods of the petty-bourgeois, both "aggressive" and "drowning."

Modern bourgeois propaganda achieves the results it needs by skillfully playing on such coexisting properties of petty-bourgeois psychology, as noted by A. V. Lunacharsky, as individualism and herding.

The individualism of the bourgeois, built, according to Lunacharsky, "on private production, private property and competition", has led to a personality crisis in the modern era. At the time of monopoly capitalism, the propensity for herding caused a global standardization of all spheres of life, since it was the bourgeoisie that “invented all the horrors of fashion, rampant life, so-called decency, etc., etc..”

Quite topical in the modern world is the problem of the theorizing of petty bourgeoisie, developed by A. V. Lunacharsky in close connection with the question of the role of the intelligentsia in society. The intelligentsia, according to Lunacharsky, supplies "masters of various kinds of ideologies to other classes" - "sometimes cynically for a bribe, sometimes sincerely adhering to one or another impressive force."

Under certain conditions, more often at the time of the collapse of the usual bourgeois ideas, when the intelligentsia with great effort develops its own "universal" non-class ideology, it, whether it wants it or not, objectively pours water on the mill of one class or another.

A. V. Lunacharsky, revealing the petty-bourgeois essence of the theoretical constructions of the defenders of the capitalist system contemporary to him, essentially substantiated and predicted the emergence of pseudo-scientific theorized petty bourgeoisie, which today acts as an ideology. It is not only propagated by the mass media at the level of the layman, but also operates in the sphere of socio-political sciences, working out the forms and methods of the capitalist system.

The theorization of philistinism has become the norm and even naturally the modern stage of the increasing crisis of capitalism. The critical attitude, characteristic of most Western fashion concepts, often acts as a camouflage of their philistine essence, which skillfully spoils bourgeois propaganda for their purposes.

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So, in the period of the 60s-for the 70s, the revisionist theory of Markuz, who pretended itself as a “short-fitting Marxist”, was raised to the shield. The “Ma-Shanskaya background” of Marcuseanism was manifested in the denial of the revolutionary role of the working class, which allegedly “integrated” into the capitalist system, and the non-recognition of the leading role of the party, whose function “transmitted” the bourgeois intelligentsia, youth. Understanding the danger of genuine Marxism, the bourgeois propaganda deftly picked up the outwardly revolutionary, but the philistine philosophy of Marcuse.

The philosopher J. Elul, the author of the well -known work of “propaganda”, also played an objectively useful role for the bourgeoisie. In the critical part of his study, he exposes the mechanism of exposure to bourgeois propaganda, based on two main components of philistinism - its individualism and herd: "... propaganda is addressed to the individual, but affects the masses."

According to Ellum, stereotypes and myths distributed by bourgeois propaganda are aimed at standardizing all spheres

of society, as well as people themselves, “unify their behavior in accordance with a specific model, spread their lifestyle”, and “spontaneously affects not only means in a single direction Mass media, but also advertising, cinema, school education and social services. ” Ellul sees salvation from the influence of propaganda and general standardization in escapism, alienation from politics and public life. Thus, he essentially acts with the preaching of philistinism with his apolitism, indifference to social problems and objectively “pours water into the mill” of the same propaganda.

A special place among the studies of modern philistinism is occupied by the book of the social psychologist T. Adorno, written in collaboration with his colleagues, "The Authoritarian Personality", which examines the psychology of the modern philistine from the point of view of the possibility of his perception of fascist ideology. In the critical part of the work, T. Adorno acts as an exposer of philistinism, at the same time, the way out that he offers - the development of a "psychological technique for changing personality" - makes it, on the whole, a typical manifestation of philistinism.

Objectively, Marcuse, Ellul and Adorno, despite the sharp-critical attitude of their works, uphold the foundations of bourgeois society. Under the conditions of an ever-increasing crisis, it is becoming more and more difficult for the propaganda of the capitalist countries to impose on the masses ideas that are beneficial to the ruling class. She skillfully and promptly uses the latest bourgeois concepts to form a petty-bourgeois worldview and a petty-bourgeois way of life. The danger of these conceptions lies in the fact that the desire to preserve the bourgeois system is disguised in them by false-critical pathos or ostentatious revolutionary spirit, which, as a rule, does not really go beyond the framework of bourgeois liberalism.

Bourgeois propaganda carefully hides the true meaning of the values and value orientations it has developed, which are components of the philistinism it is introducing. The mass media cultivate individualism and conformism under the guise of "personal freedom", propagate the petty-bourgeois-consumer complex, inciting self-interest, and a thirst for money in people under the pretext of caring for material well-being.

In an effort to distract the masses from the vital problems of life, they subject their consciousness to constant bombardment, imposing apoliticalism, indifference to social problems, dragging them into an illusory world, planting anti-intellectualism, and arousing prejudices. Playing on the low sides of human nature, bourgeois propaganda, with the help of petty-bourgeois theories, levels the spiritual life of people, standardizes their views, tastes, and creative aspirations.

Since the acquisitiveness, hoarding, individualism, conformism of the mass media have outgrown the traditional framework of philistinism in our time and special sections are devoted to them in the book, the main attention in this chapter will be focused on such important attributes of this phenomenon as apolitism, anti-intellectualism and standardization.

Private property, which is the soil on which philistinism is formed, turns the spiritual life of a person into a sphere of application of money capital, the purpose of which, as K. Marx wrote, is to awaken “a new need ... Therefore, along with the growth of the mass of objects, the kingdom of alien entities grows, under the yoke which a person is located ... At the same time, a person is becoming poorer as a person ... ".

In our days, the “realm of alien entities” has reached truly gigantic proportions through the efforts of the bourgeois

media. Advertising plays a leading role in this. But print, radio, television are not limited to direct advertising when this or that product literally screams: “Buy!” While preaching philistinism, they resort to camouflage.

The press uses special sections and sections to disguise it, submits articles on various topics in a solid package of supposedly scientific materials, overloaded with documentary and statistical data. And how many details, hints of an advertising sense are interspersed in the texts of essays, reports, works of art that seem to have nothing to do with advertising!

Advertising in bourgeois society is assigned a social role, it actively operates in more than one sphere of consumption, it also breaks into the spiritual life of people, gradually instilling traditional petty-bourgeois apoliticality and ignorance, provoking individualism, and conformism, standardizing the whole system of people's lives.

The mass media plant philistinism purposefully and systematically, not only through overt and covert advertising, but also through the whole complex of published and transmitted materials.

They developed standards and stereotypes based on the traditional properties of the petty-bourgeois nature - indifference to public life, ignorance and often militant hatred of education II enlightenment, individualism and commitment to the herd, intolerance to the new, rejection of everything that differs from the generally accepted.

The essence of these standards is carefully veiled, and it is far from easy to detect. As a rule, the “petty-bourgeois background” consists of various kinds of specific images, analogies, details, hints, dissolved in the general fabric of the narrative, sometimes it can be hidden in the subtext. As a

model of a citizen, the mass media slips the “muzzle” of a tradesman, hidden under the husk of external respectability, but in fact worshiping one god - his own well-being.

In introducing petty-bourgeois standards, bourgeois journalism strictly takes into account the level of material security, education, and upbringing of various sections of society, as well as the traditions existing among them, real and imaginary values. Proceeding from the duality and inconsistency of the philistine’s soul, it subtly regulates the moods of both the “drowning”, in the terminology of A. V. Lunacharsky, “and the philistines who dream of“ exaltation ”.

The imposed standards and patterns are built in such a way that, on the one hand, they prevent potential protest and direct the discontent of the "drowning" into a sphere safe for social foundations, on the other hand, playing on the sensitive strings of the soul of the philistines, rushing to illusory world of dreams and fabulous luxury. In quantitative terms, materials of both tonality, as a rule, are balanced not only on the scale of all mass media, but also sometimes within the limits of one issue of a magazine, one television or radio program.

Marx's "man becomes poorer as a man" takes on a special meaning in the age of universal standardization. Philistine standards penetrate into all spheres of human existence. They prescribe to people what to wear, what to eat and drink, regulate their spiritual food, invade literature and art. Templated products of petty-bourgeois creativity, in turn, influence the formation of the corresponding worldview and tastes of people.

Unlike documentary stories about real people, artistic and semi-artistic genres have great potential for treating the reader and viewer in a philistine spirit. In them, the petty-bourgeois

way of life appears as a kind of ideal existence; speculating on a sense of prestige, he arouses in the layman a desire to imitate.

In essays and stereotyped stories, a specific "image" of the petty-bourgeois hero and his lifestyle is created. As a rule, such “works” are based on the cult of the family as part of bourgeois individualism, the glorification of outstanding individual qualities and personal initiative as a kind of refraction of the traditional myth of a society of supposedly equal opportunities, the exaltation of material success that invariably accompanies achievements in one area or another, admiration for luxury and wealth.

The stamp of philistinism is also reflected in the unification of the form of these genres: the author's techniques, the system of visual means, and the manner of presentation are standardized accordingly.

Influencing the worldview, psychology and emotions of people, bourgeois propaganda at the present stage demonstrates an ever more perfect skill and variety of methods in planting philistinism, among which is pseudo-science, masking the philistine essence of most materials under statistical data and scientific conclusions; apoliticalism, behind the facade of which a sharp political orientation is carefully hidden; widespread and consistent introduction of prejudices, superstitions into the minds of people, moreover, also educated and politically oriented.

The standardization and commercialization of spiritual life, like many other processes of capitalist society, manifested itself most acutely in the United States, where philistinism is an integral part of the so-called American way of life, widely promoted in the modern bourgeois world.

In the United States of America, the “middle class” corresponding to the philistine class is the majority of the population, which is associated with the historical conditions of the country's formation. At one time, A. I. Herzen drew attention to this: “Meshcankie, the last word of civilization based on the unconditional autocracy of property, - democratization of the aristocracy, aristocratization of democracy.

The American States represent one middle state, which has nothing below and nothing above, but petty-bourgeois customs remain. The "middle classes" are the most fertile ground for the perception of petty-bourgeois ideology. In the US, advertising, press, radio, television, film, and education work in the same direction. They are not limited to the dissemination of petty-bourgeois standards in the political and cultural sphere, they introduce them into the individual life of each person.

In this regard, the most effective are magazine and television genres of an artistic and semi-artistic nature, in which petty-bourgeois stereotypes and standards are presented gradually, unobtrusively, as a kind of model, the hidden purpose of which is to arouse a desire to imitate. Biographical and family essays, stories, specific family TV series are the most developed and effective in their desire to regulate the views and tastes of people, to organize their lives in a certain way.

So, when studying typical journal publications of these genres and corresponding television works, one can find a stereotyped scheme with the obligatory presence of traditional philistine components:

One of the standards, where the heroes are rich or powerful people, famous or famous personalities	Another standard whose heroes are ordinary people, typical "average Americans"
Description of appearance, details of clothing, often with advertising subtext	

Highlighting the personal qualities of heroes who have achieved fame and material success as part of the traditional myth of equal opportunities in bourgeois society	The connection of the career of characters with material success

The family as part of bourgeois individualism
petty-bourgeois attributes: detailed description of houses, hotels, weddings, banquets, travels

Emphasizing the difficulties of a material nature in the lives of people holding important government positions	Never any financial problems and material difficulties

Description of fabulous luxury in celebrity life

Materials corresponding to the first or second standard can be found in any issue of bourgeois journals, both in the USA and in other countries. Tribute to these genres is given by McCalls, Quick, Parimatch, Parade, Women's Day, Family Weekly, Ladies Home Journal and many other publications. (…)

Inspecting the reader that success depends on personal skill, the magazine aims him to concentrate on his personal, to be

distracted from general problems. His goal is to convince the “drowning” tradesman that he himself is to blame for his failures, because he does not have qualities that bring success.

In the subtext, you can notice an anti -intellectual orientation. There is no open propaganda of ignorance, but the features of the characters, served as the key to success in life, are usually not related to education and high intelligence.

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An important part of the bourgeois standard is (at first glance, also not so significant) the enumeration of the details of Redford's clothing (green turtleneck, brown trousers with an Indian belt, cowboy boots, which the author saw on him back in 1971); it is specifically emphasized that he is at least six feet tall and that he does not dye his hair (gossip refutation). Barbara's appearance is described in typical American spirit - translated into dollars: in a 20-dollar dress she looks like a million dollars, but she prefers expensive outfits - better than those of J. Onassis, in which she poses for Hollywood designers. The advertising implication of such valuable information, presented to the reader as a role model, is an illustration of one of the methods of the mass media that standardize the life of all sections of bourgeois society at an appropriate level. (…)

Modern bourgeoisness is the same “autocratic crowd of cohesive mediocrity” with the only difference being that the efforts of the bourgeois media that have developed cunning techniques for the masking of its true essence, it appears to society as a kind of “ideal” that we must strive for, and the standardized super -laughter Submitted as a sample of a genuine citizen.

Systematically planted by bourgeois propaganda, consumerism, and accumulation, apolitism and anti - intellectualism, individualism and herd, standardization and mediocrity find their completion in fear of a new, different from the usual, in adaptability and conformism.

The militant conformism, based on commitment to their own well -being and aversion to the social struggle, acquires social significance in fulfilling the ultimate goal of philistinism - to preserve the existing capitalist system.

A. M. Gorky deeply entered the essence of this phenomenon: “The bourgeois would want to live calmly and beautifully, without taking active participation in this struggle, his favorite position is a peaceful life in the rear of the most powerful army.” The commitment to the "peaceful life" and the union with the "most powerful party" makes philistinism the support of the "Establishment".

In crisis situations, as evidenced by historical experience, philistinism, as a rule, provides support for reactionary forces and often becomes susceptible to the ideology of the extreme right, that is, potentially dangerous for democracy and progress.

Dehumanization of the human personality

The amoralism of the bourgeois journalist

The life of modern man is inseparable from the media and propaganda. Before he reads his first book, the world of radio and television opens up to him.

The media accompany him throughout his life, and what they carry, what thoughts and feelings arouse in him, largely depends on the process of forming the inner personality of the individual, his spiritual and moral potential. The facts of recent years inexorably testify to the fact that in modern bourgeois society, along with an acute socio-economic and political crisis, a crisis of morality, moral ideals and values is taking on ever more terrifying dimensions.

At the Congress, in this connection, it was emphasized that the ideological and political crisis of bourgeois society "shakes the elementary moral norms", that in the capitalist countries "the decline of spiritual culture continues, crime is growing." increased by 11%) lead scientists to conclude similar to the one made in France by the director of the Institute of Criminology: "By the year 2000, every second French will be a criminal."

Crime is closely related to such phenomena as alcoholism, drug addiction (there are over 10 million alcoholics and 12 million drug addicts in the USA), prostitution (in Turin alone there are 8,000 prostitutes in Italy), and pornography. Of course, these facts are a direct consequence of the capitalist system with its alienation of man, the growth of unemployment, the ever-widening gulf between a handful of rich people and the working masses.

They cause legitimate alarm in the West among those who are concerned about the moral degradation of people, who seek to change the very socio-economic conditions of life of the

masses. These same facts cannot but excite those apologists of capitalism who would like to prolong the days of the capitalist system, although the inexorable logic of human development says that "capitalism is a society without a future." Anxious voices are also heard about the fact that the mass media and propaganda are making a significant contribution to the moral decay of society. Many bourgeois scholars resolutely and insistently declare that violence and cruelty, sex, and pornography, falling upon a person from newspaper and magazine pages or from television screens, stimulate criminality and base instincts in him. This is especially true for the younger generation.

The American writer and television commentator E. Cook, when asked by a United States News and World Report correspondent about how dangerous detective films and performances are, which are filled with violence, shooting, blood, said that there can be only one answer - of course, yes , because in fact it is like asking: what is the effect of pornography, does it stimulate baser instincts? Fashionable in the West theories of "cleansing catharsis", neo-Freudianism and others are called upon to obscure the role of bourgeois propaganda in the decay of the human personality.

In cases where there are no arguments in the form of pseudoscientific concepts to determine its obscenity, outright inhumanity and cruelty, bourgeois ideologists appeal to the thoroughly false slogan of “freedom of the media” in bourgeois society, which they interpret as the freedom to openly preach war, racism , immoralism ... No prohibitions, no forbidden topics, and techniques - this, of course, from the point of view of those in power, big business. “We must fight against any taboos,” the editor of the French pornographic magazine Absolu said categorically, referring to the “courage” of most of its materials. There are no prohibitions for those

journalists who fill the pages of mass publications with "black news". But, as the Italian communist newspaper Unita rightly wrote in 1974, reporters are well aware that it is very easy to get information about criminal offenses from the police, and it is difficult to find out anything about events related to those that are unspoken taboo. Such topics include, for example, "white murders" - accidents at work due to the fault of the owners, which almost never become the subject of discussion on the pages of bourgeois newspapers, on radio and television.

Of course, it is difficult to disagree with the opinions of those scientists who express concern for the fate of the younger generation in a bourgeois society, brought up on horror films and comics, pornographic print and the "black chronicle". It seems that an even more serious danger to the human personality, its moral basis is the moral position of the bourgeois media and propaganda, which contributes to the comprehensive corruption of the individual.

The press, radio, and television, by propaganda of bourgeois "values," reinforce the inhumane attitude of man to man, man to society, and society to the individual, which is inherent in the very nature of the capitalist system.

Thus, they contribute to the dehumanization of the individual, his moral impoverishment, they do, because it is, of course, impossible to absolutize the role of the mass media, as some theorists in bourgeois countries do, because in the end, a person is created by the entire surrounding reality, the way of life of society with its socio-economic, political, and spiritual basis, with the relations existing in it.

The mass media and propaganda, which are the property of monopoly capital and carry out the social order of the ruling class, seek to keep the masses, those very “average

Americans" or "average French," as they call them, under their constant control, to manipulate their consciousness in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

In the context of the growing ideological struggle between the two world systems, they are fighting not only for the minds, but also for the souls of people, while trampling on elementary human norms. A significant influence on the nature of propaganda and its methods is exerted by the driving force of capitalism - the desire for profit, gain, enrichment in every possible way, a force that has never stopped at any means to achieve its own selfish goals.

In the world of capital, the attitude towards a person, as mentioned above, is largely determined by the consumer morality that prevails there. It brings to the fore not the human personality, but money, wealth, which in the end constitute the value and significance of this or that individual.

It is money that in bourgeois society is the main factor in resolving the conflict between good and evil. In the interpretation of consumer morality, wealth appears as a source of human happiness, only it can provide him with a "sweet life", create a world of petty-bourgeois peace.

Consumer morality, with its preaching of neohedonism, sees the meaning of human life in the flow of entertainment and pleasure. Erotica becomes that saving sphere for a person, where he can prove himself, find application for his strengths. It is money that in bourgeois society is the main factor in resolving the conflict between good and evil. In the interpretation of consumer morality, wealth appears as a source of human happiness, only it can provide him with a "sweet life", create a world of petty-bourgeois peace. Consumer morality, with its preaching of neohedonism, sees the meaning of human life in the flow of entertainment and

pleasure. Erotica becomes that saving sphere for a person, where he can prove himself, find application for his strengths.

The unrestrained pursuit of the "golden calf", the desire to get the maximum pleasure and enjoyment from life push many people to crime. There are a lot of examples when robbers and murderers explained the reasons for their actions with similar motives. “We needed money to go to a nightclub and buy a car,” said one of the members of the gang operating in Italy.

It should be noted that along with those who commit crimes in order to join the “sweet life” with the help of dishonestly obtained money, there are also those who embark on this path to satisfy their base desires, who see pleasure in the crimes themselves. . In the West, kidnappings in order to obtain a substantial ransom from relatives have become more frequent.

This form of crime, which is a product of the capitalist system, clearly indicates the moral degradation of bourgeois society, where people are forced to literally "buy" the life of their loved ones. The desire for wealth, for gain, for the possession of money determines the criminal behavior of not only young people who are deprived of their livelihood or work, but also the "powerful ones" - politicians, monopolists, businessmen, whose moral character is characterized by dishonorable machinations, bribes, forgeries and etc.

The consumer morality of bourgeois society in no way contributes to the development of the individual, especially the comprehensive one.

In the capitalist countries, due attention is not paid to the question of raising the cultural level of the masses, of introducing them to the spiritual heritage of mankind. Bourgeois ideologists offer people the ersatz culture they have diligently cultivated, the so-called mass culture, whose

aesthetic and ethical ideals are in complete contradiction with the humanistic ideals of genuine culture.

Comics, photo novels, television films and other products are actively distributed by the bourgeois mass media. They have neither space nor time to propagate genuine art. Mass culture as a commercial phenomenon does not pass by samples of real art only in those cases when they can serve as a bait for the reader or viewer.

Parasitizing on the spiritual culture of mankind, it contributes to the development of a consumer attitude towards art, the substitution of a true interest in his works with a philistine interest in the personality of their authors, more precisely, in their personal lives.

Portraits of prominent writers, composers, and artists on advertisements for various brands of wines, household appliances or cosmetics have become habitual for bourgeois propaganda. A bottle of aperitif against the background of Tiepolo's painting is also provided with the cynical caption "Quality is art". Such a practice can rightfully be called a mockery of art, its masterpieces, geniuses.

Of course, it cannot be argued that there are no publications in the West in which the problems of art would not be considered seriously. But the thing is that they are intended for a narrow circle of people, for the creative intelligentsia and have very limited circulation. In mass magazines and newspapers, the names of certain famous writers or artists sometimes flash, but the approach to them is determined by the same measure of sensationalism.

In such materials, the details of their personal lives are savored and their creativity is not considered, the concepts of the consumer society are applied to them, the law of fashion applies to them, as to things. For example, in mass

publications you can find the words that the great B. Shaw "is back in fashion", and after a few pages, that "the fashion for horses, carriages and convertibles" is returning again. Moreover, the publishers of the pornographic press, in order to justify the obscene photographs of nudes they place, cynically declare that the works of "Michelangelo and the Greek statues can be called very bold, and yet we take children to see them. “What kind of cultural development of the individual, what kind of ethical and aesthetic education can we talk about if the masterpieces of sculpture are equated with pornographic pictures, if the propaganda of art is replaced by propaganda that morally corrupts a person.

Recently, in the West, the mention of the names of prominent artists in sensational materials related to the theft of works of art from museums has become more frequent. As a rule, such publications are full of detective details, descriptions of personalities by readers, and, most importantly, prices: how much does this or that masterpiece cost, how much did one or the other earn on it. With the help of print, radio and television, priceless masterpieces of brush and cutter are turned into ordinary goods. Consumer morality, which reduces everything to one denominator - money, instills in people a cynical attitude towards true spiritual values, leads to their complete oblivion.

In modern bourgeois society, the dignity of the human person is deliberately and systematically violated. The most direct confirmation of this is the booming "porn business" - the industry of pornographic printing, films, commercial establishments, spectacles. The "sexual revolution" in the capitalist countries, which reduced man to a bestial position, plunged him into waves of cynicism and sexual permissiveness, owes much to this industry. The immediate propagandists of the ideas of the “sexual revolution”, their

vivid embodiment, were numerous publications that formed a special detachment of the “specialized pornographic press”.

It has grown so much that it is already classified into separate types: illustrated magazines, comic book magazines, photo novels. Their circulation is growing, their number is increasing. In April 1976, the American magazine "Time", having devoted a number of materials to the "porn business", noted that America had entered the "age of pornography". The Italian magazine "Panorama" wrote that 53 pornographic magazines of various periodicity are published in the country. The French magazine Press Actualite emphasized that "the erotic print is doing well" and, although some publications are experiencing difficulties, "their circulation is generally growing."

Moreover, this industry has recently taken on an international character. In Europe, for example, according to the words of the magazine "Panorama", a kind of "PornoMEC" (pornographic "Common Market") is being formed. His "activity" is quite active and wide…(…)

It is quite obvious that the most serious danger of the products of the "porn business" is for the younger generation, whose minds and souls have not yet fully formed. Quite a few people in the West also think this way, since the facts insistently testify that the corrupting influence of pornography has the most destructive effect on young people, awakens base instincts and passions, and leads to complete immorality of the individual. However, those who stand at the levers of power in a capitalist society, the bosses of business, are interested in such a treatment of young people, which forms morally sick people who lose all ability to fight for progressive ideals. This can explain the fact that, for example, in France, youth and pornographic press are concentrated in the hands of the same businessmen. (…)

The moral position of the bourgeois media and propaganda is very clearly manifested in the kind of hero they offer to their readers, viewers, listeners.

And although these heroes are sometimes not openly advertised as role models, nevertheless they unwittingly become them, because they are written about, they are interviewed, their photos are placed on the front pages of newspapers and on the covers of magazines. Who are they? First of all, these are the heroes of sensations.

And as you know, murderers and suicides, rapists and robbers, swindlers and drug addicts become such in the bourgeois world. You can't make a sensation on the behavior of a normal person - this is the law of bourgeois propaganda.

In materials that are not sensational, writing about people if they are not involved in politics or business, if they are not screen stars and ring idols, is not accepted - this is another law of bourgeois propaganda. Thus, logic leads to the conclusion: in order to become a hero of the day in the world of capital, one must become a kind of modern Herostratus, a person with deviant behavior…(…)

Some Western ideologists are inclined to explain that the heroes of sensations essentially turn into heroes of bourgeois propaganda by saying that life itself gives them, and the press, radio, and television only report on them, like on all other events.

This corresponds to the truth only in the fact that in bourgeois society there really are quite a few moral cripples. As for the coverage of all other events, the reality testifies to the stubborn suppression by bourgeois propaganda of facts and phenomena that do not fit into the framework of its ideological constructions. And besides, such a statement is refuted by the fact that in the pseudo-artistic samples of mass

culture, represented by television films, comics, photo novels and other products, the hero remains the same as in sensational materials.

However, if the heroes of sensations or films become such models spontaneously, then the idols and idols fabricated by the efforts of bourgeois propaganda are openly imposed on young people as indisputable authorities. Most often, these are movie stars or pop stars, whose advertising is created by a whole group of special illustrated publications called the "press of idols and stars", other newspapers and magazines, radio, and television.

The subject of advertising is by no means the personality of the idol, but his appearance, manner of bearing, clothes, i.e. propaganda approaches him as one of the goods that can bring considerable profit in terms of business and ideological influence on young people. The practice of turning this or that person into an idol is immoral in itself, since it imposes on these people norms of behavior, views, principles that are sometimes alien to them, makes them live according to the plots prepared for sensations. Often their life also ends in a sensation: Marilyn Monroe's suicide, Elvis Presley's death from drugs, Rita Hayworth's alcoholism and insanity, etc. Often they live out their lives in complete oblivion, like things that have gone out of fashion. This practice is also immoral in relation to those hundreds and thousands of young people who are cynically turned into a standardized crowd of idolaters, deliberately crippling their inner world, impoverishing it.

Respect for the human personality, its dignity, philanthropy, which implies compassion and sympathy, sensitivity, and mutual assistance, are the basis of truly humane relations between people. However, bourgeois propaganda contributes to the fact that relations between people take on an inhuman

character. This is manifested, in particular, in the fact that in bourgeois society only philanthropy is presented as philanthropy, which replaces charity with true concern for the fate of a person, his happiness.

The bourgeois press, radio and television widely advertise charitable events, the activities of various foundations and organizations established by representatives of the ruling class.

Sometimes the press itself acts as such a "benefactor" when it publishes letters from readers for financial assistance, thereby legitimizing degrading handouts in an attempt to reconcile people with harsh reality. (…)

Such tragedies are not the subject of sensations, they are typical examples from the life of a capitalist society, whose humanism does not rise above alms to the destitute, deprived of elementary human rights.

The philanthropy of bourgeois propaganda is also manifested in the fact that a certain part of its production, the so-called "dream industry", presents people with the illusion of a happy life instead of reality.

She deceives them, forcing them to believe that not everything is bad in the world around them, that good must triumph over evil, thereby calling for passivity, for conviction in the inviolability of the existing order, and, consequently, in their social justice.

Sentimentally vulgar photo novels, sentimental love stories from the life of titled persons and stars act on people like drugs. Those whose dreams turned out to be broken, whose destinies were distorted by the world of profit, violence, and cruelty, with the help of the "dream industry" gain the illusion of happiness, prosperity, and tranquility.

So propaganda under the guise of helping others spiritually robs people and ultimately makes them even more unhappy, since the effect of any intoxicating drug eventually ends, just as those material handouts that are donated to them from the pockets of philanthropic bourgeois quickly dry up.

And although bourgeois propaganda tries to hide its immoral, inhuman character behind an imaginary objectivity in reflecting reality, behind a false slogan of freedom that abolishes any taboos, behind philanthropic aspirations, on the whole, its position has a pronounced class basis.

In this sense, the revelation of one of the ideologists of anti-communism is indicative, who wrote: “Let the young boobies do what they want - have fun, dance rock and roll, rape, kill, if only they didn’t do shit, because in the end it will turn out Marxist politics.” This was said in the 60s, the 70s changed almost nothing, with the exception, perhaps, of rock and roll.

That is why, for all the lack of detail in describing crimes, savoring the details of violence, scrupulously examining the behavior of drug addicts, and vividly depicting the “heroes” of these deeds, the bourgeois press almost never tries to explain to readers the social causes that push people in the capitalist world onto a criminal path.

Instead, she appeals to the insidiousness of fate, to fate, instilling fear, and uncertainty in people.

However, the class essence of the bourgeois pestilence is most clearly manifested in the ideological struggle between the two systems. Bourgeois mass media and propaganda, which sow immoralism in society and contribute to the dehumanization of the individual, have recently been trying with amazing persistence to present themselves as champions of the moral ideas of mankind, speaking out "in defense of human rights in the socialist countries."

From the standpoint of bourgeois individualism, they hypocritically moralize about the alleged absence of freedoms and human rights in the socialist countries. By separating the concept of a person's freedom in society from his responsibility to him, bourgeois propaganda tries to prove, using the example of a handful of moral renegades, anti-social elements, that in a socialist society the rights of all citizens are infringed.

Ignoring the concept of a person's responsibility to society, when it comes to socialist countries, bourgeois propaganda in its practice does not behave irresponsibly - naturally, not before those people whose minds it shamelessly manipulates, but before the ruling class. It is in the interests of this class that it contributes to the moral degradation of people, tramples on the dignity of the individual, deeply corrupts a person, makes him infinitely cynical.

Passion for sale

(…)

Indeed, violence has become the norm of the capitalist way of life, where everything is based on the exploitation of man by man, on the oppression, trampling or even physical destruction of another person. Unfulfilled dreams of winning a "place at the top", a failed career, the fear of losing a job or a roof over your head, the consciousness of your helplessness in front of the arbitrariness of the police - and all these are typical everyday life of the "free" West - contribute to the growth of hostility between people, bring up cruelty, the desire for retaliatory violence , in other words, they create a soil on which evil, rather than good, grows and develops faster.

It is no coincidence that the data of the criminal police of the developed capitalist countries are so disappointing, indicating an ever-increasing crime in these countries and, which is

especially alarming, an increase in the number of juvenile delinquents who often commit acts of violence “simply out of a desire to kill” (a sixteen-year-old resident of West German r. Julich, who took the life of a four-year-old girl) or in order to, for example, experience for himself "what the killer feels when he kills his victim."

“Violence is the most private of all human assets, and nothing else expresses the possessive “I” like the desire to beat, flatten, humiliate, or kill the body of another person, while maintaining its integrity. Aldridge, who owns these words, accurately defined the class essence of violence as a phenomenon of an antagonistic society in which the strong survive, for strength here is akin to law…. Only he who builds his life in accordance with this norm can count on success and prosperity in bourgeois society, no matter what stage a person is on, whether at the top or at the very bottom.

In 1974, one of the authors of this chapter happened to see a remarkable feature film on West German television. Notable for the fact that the script for it was a novel written by former criminal…(…)

So, a society based on violence cannot but affirm it as a norm, as something taken for granted; violence is affirmed daily, hourly by millions of newspapers and magazines, through radio and TV channels, on movie screens. Showing it has become one of the main sources of income for the bourgeois "mass media", the element that attracts the bourgeois public, because it sees in the violent act the same assertion of the possessive "I", carried out through the mechanism of identification with the heroes who commit violence. At the same time, the contemplation of other people's suffering, humiliation can serve as a kind of moral compensation for one's own failures and insults. These are perhaps the main sources of the "demand" for the demonstration of violence,

which in turn is artfully inflated and encouraged by a rich "supply". It turns out like a vicious circle, from which it is very difficult for the consumer to escape. (…)

Shakespeare's work carries a high humanistic ideal, and the violence in his plays calls for a fight against evil and cruelty. A completely different picture is observed in the works of "mass literature", completely devoid of universal ideals. Violence in them serves as a form of assertion of individualism, is a decisive factor in the battle, where the strongest wins, removing people objectionable to him from his path according to the laws of the capitalist jungle. And the most dangerous thing here is that this norm of behavior is painted in attractive colors, presented in a rosy light, in other words, violence in "mass literature" is romanticized. After all, it is no coincidence that the heroes who commit the most cruel acts of violence are endowed with an attractive appearance, resourcefulness, courage, and many other qualities that create an aura of heroism in the eyes of the townsfolk. Along with this process, the reader subconsciously justifies the violence committed by such a hero, takes it for granted and natural. This is how tolerance for cruelty is born.

…American researchers N. Hughes and D. Jefferson revealed an interesting detail confirming the fact of the romanticization of the heroes of "mass literature". They conducted a comparative analysis of literary heroes - detectives and criminals and their corresponding characters in real life. As a result, it turned out that the former, as a rule, are much more educated (some even attended college, which was not found in reality), a good ten years younger, almost all are divorced and lead a bachelor lifestyle, which also distinguished them from real characters. . In addition, in literature all the characters were professionals, while in life this happened quite rarely…(…)

The advent of television immeasurably expanded the scope of the cult of violence, since this mass medium combined both the efficiency of the newspaper with its worship of sensationalism, and the illusory world of magazines with their craving for savoring and idealizing various types of violence. In addition, television has given its channels to the cinema, with its many years of experience in the production of gangster and cowboy films.

All this, taken together, created favorable conditions for the flourishing of the cult of violence on television in the capitalist countries. The scope of its distribution is from information programs and documentaries to serial action films.

Even in news releases, events related to violent acts are given paramount attention: as a rule, they begin the program with a commentary, reports from the scene, interviews with its participants or eyewitnesses.

The deep introduction of the cult of violence into the so-called artistic television programs is a natural result of its dominance in the entire “mass culture”, of which such television works are an integral part. However, it was in television serials, among which multi-part television films - westerns, detectives, historical series, and thrillers (horror films) that are at the forefront, that cult reached its apogee.

To justify its existence, "mass culture" proponents have created a number of theories designed to prove the usefulness of the cult of violence, especially in the spectacular art forms of theatre, film, and television. One of them, the "shock theory", claims that unbalancing the audience brings undoubted benefits, as it destroys their state of complacency.

Another, the so-called theory of catharsis, uses the famous thesis of Aristotle about the sublime purification of the soul through appeal to the lowest human instincts. The preachers

of the cult of violence in the sphere of television are raising the bar on this theory, while arguing that the mental complicity of viewers in the acts of violence shown on the television screen is a kind of outlet for them, as it gives vent to their aggressive instincts. However, there are other points of view about the reaction of the audience to the demonstration of violence, which may not be indisputable, but strongly refute the usefulness of such acts. (…) (…)

Violence in television series always serves the purpose of asserting and defending the moral and ideological foundations of a class, antagonistic society. "Mass art" romanticizes violence and at the same time accustoms to it, depicting it as "due", as a necessary and natural norm of human existence.

Summing up what has been said, it should be noted that in the bourgeois world there are often sober voices of critics who are able to analyze many acute problems of modern capitalist society deeply and seriously, including the problem of violence. The English television critic K. Dunkley, in particular, wrote: “In countries where violence is especially developed, as well as in those parts of the United States where the use of firearms is a common thing, television, of course, contributes to the recognition of this situation as normal and acceptable.

Therefore, the solution of the problem should not be sought in the correction of television, which is just a mirror, but in the correction of society itself. The "man-beast", his natural essence, according to the bourgeois myth-makers, is also characterized by the thirst for violence, the instinct of aggression, and sexual attraction. No wonder sexual passion - passion without love, sex for the sake of sex - is a constant companion of violence. The degree of saturation with sex in different media is not the same. Newspapers are less subject to

its influence. The only area given to him at the mercy of - advertising, in particular the advertising of movies and theatrical productions. It is literally replete with naked and semi-naked bodies of actresses and actors, regardless of the degree of their talent and the content of the advertised works.

But in all this noisy kaleidoscope, you can discern your own principles for presenting material. First of all, films and performances that have already gained scandalous fame for their content and staging (such as “Oh, Calcutta!”), Are advertised without any hesitation and embarrassment, shots from them directly and unambiguously reveal the essence of these “works”.

The situation is different in cases where the film or performance does not have a pronounced erotic character, and sometimes even far from it. Then advertising fills this gap and creates its own vision of their content: it looks for the most piquant moments in it (and if they are not piquant enough, then thanks to the artists they become such) and places their frames in an advertisement. All this is done regardless of the plots of works and performers. (…)

That's the whole secret of the "absolute freedom" activity advertised in the bourgeois state. This art, its socio-political background - anything, if only not "red" ideas.

The reduction of the spiritual demands of the audience to the most primitive level, the replacement of love with "naked" sex, the displacement of the spiritual by the physiological - all this is part of a certain philosophy of life that degrades human dignity, the philosophy that the creators of bourgeois "mass culture" preach.

The destruction of moral norms, presented as "human emancipation," in fact only leads the masses in the capitalist world away from the struggle for genuine, and not illusory,

emancipation. And this is done with the most direct and intense impact on the audience of readers and viewers of media products and propaganda.

Religion and bourgeois propaganda

The deep crisis of all the structures of bourgeois society is forcing its ideologists to turn more and more persistently to religion - a centuries-old means of spiritual suppression of the masses, one of the effective levers of "social control" over them. The bourgeoisie sees the greater necessity in religious ideas, the higher the social activity of the masses becomes and the stronger their disillusionment with capitalist reality.

In such a situation, it is the church, which directs the consciousness of people into the sphere of religious quest, that restrains their real activity and inspires hope for salvation with the help of supernatural forces. In this way it serves the class interests of the bourgeoisie.

Social and political doctrines, the activities of churches, which contribute to the strengthening of the foundations of capitalist society, receive natural support from the ruling monopoly circles, which become active champions of clericalism.

The interest of the bourgeoisie in preserving and strengthening the position of religion in capitalist society is also fully understood in the circles of religious figures concerned about the future of the church. They are concerned about the progressive process of the decline of people's religiosity, which is largely facilitated by the victorious march of the ideas of socialism across the planet, the intensity of class battles in capitalist countries, and the rapid development of the scientific and technological revolution. And at the same time, they understand that only capitalism can ensure the reproduction of religion in new social forms, and the contradictory nature of its scientific and technological

progress gives rise to the need for a religious completion of reality.

It is in the circles of the bourgeoisie that the church hopes to find and finds dependable allies for carrying out its political aspirations.

The interpenetration of the ideological and political interests of the bourgeoisie and the clergy is reflected in the activities of the bourgeois mass media and propaganda. Their efforts are aimed primarily at stopping the process of society's secularization and promoting the reproduction of religiosity in any new forms. They attach no less importance to the influence that they can constantly exert on the orientation of believers in accordance with political and ideological guidelines that are of mutual interest to the bourgeoisie and the church.

The system of mass media and propaganda in bourgeois society includes, as a special group, the clerical press, radio, and television, which are financially dependent on the church, religious organizations or secular groups and directly indoctrinate believers. However, the scope of their activities is somewhat limited. First of all, because they are addressed only to believers, and also because not all churches and religious organizations have strong enough positions in the field of propaganda. In this regard, the dissemination of religious ideas and values, as well as the socio-political doctrines of the churches, is also entrusted to the so-called secular press organs, radio broadcasting and television. Turning with their help to a million-strong audience in the capitalist countries, bourgeois journalists very skillfully and subtly, often using the methods of sophisticated church propaganda, essentially carry out the mission of the preachers of religious ideology. Sometimes the “secular” press achieves such perfection in this that it even causes envy among

journalists from clerical publications and a desire to learn from experience.

So, at one time, the French Catholic magazine Press Actualite, published by the clerical publishing house Bayard-Press, wrote about one of the issues of the weekly Nouvel Observater, in which several materials on religious topics were published, that his “way of presenting information of a religious nature shows the Catholic press new ways that it could follow.

Nevertheless, the nature, methods, and techniques of propaganda of religious ideology in the "secular" bourgeois press, radio and television have their own peculiarities, caused by a number of reasons.

Firstly, it is usually more veiled and subtle, since it is addressed to a wide audience, including both believers and people who are indifferent to religion, or who are on atheistic positions. In addition, the fact that the group of believers is represented by people of different classes and social groups is of great importance.

Secondly, in some countries, religious propaganda is distinguished by a rather general nature, not closely related to a particular denomination, church, religious trend or trend, since the audience is represented by adherents of different religions, churches, and trends. If in France and Italy it is mainly about the propaganda of Catholicism, then in Germany and England there are followers of both Catholicism and Protestantism, and in the USA there are adherents of different religions - various trends of Protestantism, Catholicism, Judaism, etc.

And finally, national traditions, different levels of religiosity and its various forms, the unequal degree of political and social activity of churches and the clericalization of public life

have a considerable influence on the nature of religious propaganda. With all the complexity and variety of factors influencing the forms and methods of religious preaching in the bourgeois press, on radio and television, in general, we can say that its essence, its goals and objectives are common to all bourgeois propaganda. Basically, materials connected in one way or another with religious problems, with the activities of religious organizations or churches, are concentrated in special headings, which are available in almost all bourgeois newspapers and magazines, in radio broadcasts and television programs.

Usually these columns are run either by experienced journalists with a theological education and direct contact with the information offices of religious organizations, or by representatives of the clergy who have experience in journalistic work.

However, the existence of special headings and sections for religious information does not at all exclude the fact that general materials are not saturated with such sermons. Bourgeois propaganda constantly strives to emphasize the importance of religion as an enduring value, an integral feature of the bourgeois way of life, allegedly guaranteeing, along with other "freedoms" and "freedom of conscience", which in reality, at best, comes down to freedom of choice between religions, but not in the rejection of it. .

In this regard, in a bourgeois society, adherence to religion often becomes an attribute of respectability, and religiosity has a prestigious character. For example, during election campaigns, bourgeois propaganda is always willing to talk about the religious sympathies of the candidate for whom it advocates… (…)

In the world of capital today, long-known anti-communist ideas are also in use. An example of this is the vigorous activity of Zionist organizations, which, hiding behind the religious theses of Judaism about the "God-chosen Jewish nation", about "their unity in the land of Zion", are conducting an openly anti-Soviet campaign, which finds the widest support of the bourgeois media.

Bourgeois ideologists also use the theses of clerical anti-communism in their struggle against progressive forces in the capitalist world. To this end, they widely advertise in the press, radio, and television the views of the revisionists on the role of religion in modern society.

In some cases, the emphasis is on the theses of the revisionists that it is supposedly possible to enrich Marxism at the expense of religion, in others, on the imaginary "possibility of transforming the very essence of religion in the course of its "dialogue with reality"". In many ways, revisionist views are due to the activities of the churches, which they carry out in terms of "updating" and "modernizing" their dogmas and social doctrines. However, it would be erroneous to assume that this adaptation to the modern world is capable of influencing the social function of religion or the socio-political orientation of churches in a capitalist society.

In most cases, we are talking about changes that affect only the external aspects, forms, and methods of their activities, about minor tactical concessions while maintaining the main trunk line. Taking into account, on the one hand, the crisis of religious ideology, or, on the other hand, its desire to maintain influence in capitalist society, bourgeois pseudo-logs are trying with the help of the mass media to create an image of a "dynamic" and "renovating" church, emphasizing its concern for the welfare of people, for strengthening the significantly shaken moral foundations in the world of capitalism. They put

a lot of effort into bringing the images of church hierarchs closer to ordinary people, “humanizing” the images of church hierarchs, making adjustments to the idea that has evolved over the centuries about them as god’s representatives on earth and at the same time as representatives of the clan those holding power. In the mid-1950s, the Catholic journalist and researcher J. Hourdain wrote in this regard that for readers, "the pope, like the bishops, belongs to the mighty of this world."

It must be said that over the past 20 years, bourgeois propaganda has done a lot to make the church hierarchy look "modern", "descended to the ground", allegedly busy solving the same problems that concern the common man.

The press, radio and television willingly talk about the visits of the clergy to other countries, about participation in international forums, meetings with the public, at the same time they emphasize the new, modern style of their leadership, personal business qualities that can arouse people's sympathy.

Thus, an article about the Roman vicar, Cardinal Paulette, which the magazine Panorama published in connection with one of his speeches, can be indicative. Narrating the life of the cardinal, the weekly did not fail to first mention the vicar's hobby of walking in the mountains, and then point to his administrative abilities, as evidenced by the words of one of the cardinals that "Poletti is a modern manager." In 1975, the British bourgeois press wrote no less vividly about the dynamism and decisiveness of D. Kogan after he was consecrated to the rank of Archbishop of Canterbury, and the French weekly "Express" at one time provided the portrait of Cardinal Veio placed on the cover with the signature "church technocrats", and in the text argued that "the technique of

"brain-trust" is gradually transferred from Kennedp to the bishops." ..(…)

The desire of the church for renewal, caused by vital necessity, gives rise to various currents and directions in it. Those who consider the renewal of doctrines as a measure capable of bringing only temporary success, but in general a serious blow to the prestige of the church and shake its age-old foundations, join the ranks of the traditionalists. Those who recognize the official position in this regard as insufficiently radical, join the ranks of supporters of progressism. But among both the first and second there is no consensus on the forms of opposition to the official line of the church. Some advocate the strengthening of the political influence of the church in society, or, conversely, speak out against it, while others reduce the problems of reforms to theological disputes or oppose any modernization of religious teaching. Of course, the bourgeois press, radio and television pay considerable attention to representatives of various trends. However, if they generally approve of the official line of the churches, then in assessing those who oppose this line or partially disagree with it, they show sufficient flexibility and caution. This assessment is significantly influenced by the political orientation of certain circles of the bourgeoisie, under whose financial and ideological control the mass media are in capitalist society.

In the circles of the bourgeoisie there are both champions of rabid anti-communism and hardliners, and at the same time certain groups adhering to a more realistic course in the field of both domestic and foreign policy. Accordingly, they all evaluate certain trends in the church in different ways. Thus, the course of traditionalist churchmen, who advocate a return to the past, finds wide support in right-wing publications. In 1976, the activities of the French Cardinal Lefebvre found a

great response in the press, in radio and television programs, who made violent attacks on the official course of the Vatican, with calls to shed blood in defense of the faith, to fight against Satan, who had penetrated into the heart of the Catholic Church. Among those who supported Lefebvre are representatives of the most reactionary political forces of "secular" society, the heirs of fascism both in France and in other countries…(…)

Bourgeois propaganda seeks to agitate in favor of religion with stories about the charitable activities of the church, its concern for the purity of morals or aspirations for world peace, as well as facts about "innovations" in church practice. (…)

While drawing the reader's attention to religion in various ways, bourgeois propaganda sometimes does not renounce critical materials either. However, they have an anti-clerical, but by no means anti-religious orientation. In modern capitalist society there are such circles of the bourgeoisie who advocate the "secular" character of the state, leaving behind religion the sphere of spiritual possession of people. In their publications, which do not constitute an overwhelming majority, articles sometimes appear exposing the church's interference in the political life of states, revealing its ties with big capital, with reactionary forces in other countries.

Spiritual devastation, loneliness, fear for one's present and complete uncertainty about the future lead a person in a capitalist society into a state of moral depression and pessimism. Using this, bourgeois propaganda very persistently leads people to irrationalism, mysticism, occultism. It is difficult to count how many "specialized" publications on these "sciences" are being published in bourgeois countries. However, all the so-called big press, radio and television constantly supply their readers, viewers

and listeners with horoscopes, stories about witches (they are even interviewed!), spirits and other "clairvoyants". In the Hitlerite Reich, astrologers were just as necessary people as generals. The suppression of the will of man, his mind - these are the tasks that the modern ideologists of the bourgeoisie set themselves, pushing people into the world of the supernatural. Most radio and television stations, editorial offices of magazines and newspapers have permanent astrologers who regularly draw bright perspectives for their audience on their lives.

Thus, bourgeois propaganda, fulfilling the social order of the ruling class, intensively implants various religious and mystical ideas in the minds of people, seeks to stop the decline of religion and promote its revival in any new social form. Therefore, it is by no means accidental that in the press, on radio and television, such a significant place is given to the so-called religious information. And although it rarely contains direct calls to faith in God, nevertheless, all of it is clearly apologetic in relation to religion. The ideas that religious information and other materials of the bourgeois press carry with them are the ideas of class peace, humility and humility, and outright anti-communism.

Conclusion

In an atmosphere of peace of international tension and the growing influence of peace-loving forces, the information and propaganda complex of the countries of state-monopoly capitalism seeks to adapt its products to new conditions: the myths of the bourgeois journalist are tinted, presented in a veiled form, without changing their anti-people and anti-communist essence. Political myths are especially diligently created, in which frontal anti-communism is combined with all kinds of revisionist theses, theories and varieties of popular "capitalism". Speaking under the slogan of human rights, in

fact, bourgeois propaganda, serving the interests of capital, is trying to hide the true, exploitative face of the bourgeois world, which today has deprived tens of millions of people of work, of the elementary right to work.

Bourgeois propaganda is conducted in capitalist countries by all media in a differentiated way, at various levels; it is designed for both managers and managers. In publications. broadcasts intended for the controlled, propaganda of philistinism, money-grubbing, possessiveness, consumerism prevails.

Organs of the mass media, speculating on base feelings, introduce pornography and violence. They tend to resort to the crudest forms of anti-communism and thinly veiled racism and nationalism. Anti-communism, somewhat veiled but undisguised, predominates in newspapers and magazines addressed to managers, representatives of the bourgeois elite, because they are published and read by those who themselves determine the nature of bourgeois propaganda. And if these publications, as a rule, do not contain pornography and direct demonstrations of violence, then this does not change the essence of the moral and ethical standards they disseminate. Suffice it to recall, say, the speeches of the already mentioned American journalist J. Reston on the events in Iran, in which he essentially called for armed intervention in this region for the sake of the interests of the oil monopolies.

The spread of the myths of bourgeois journalism is not limited to the domestic market. The apparatus of foreign policy propaganda of the USA, Great Britain, Germany, and other countries of state-monopoly capitalism is actively instilling them all over the world, implementing a policy that researchers in the socialist and developing countries rightly called information imperialism.

At the same time, the foreign policy propaganda organs of the capitalist countries strive to oppose any form of regulation of their activities in the international arena. Indicative, for example, is the campaign against UNESCO launched in connection with the discussion of the declaration on the role of the mass media in the fight against war propaganda, racism, and apartheid.

Putting forward all sorts of absurd and ambiguous pretexts, American and British bourgeois newspapers and magazines attacked UNESCO with rude attacks for putting forward the very idea of the need to limit the spread of military and racist propaganda. They saw this as an encroachment on the freedom of the press, which for them means the freedom to tell lies…..Their negative role in the development of the international situation is becoming clearer and clearer. We are talking not only about radio broadcasting, television, and government agencies of foreign policy propaganda in capitalist countries, but also, first of all, about the activities of the so-called Western world news agencies, and above all the American Associated Press and United Press International, which spread the myths of bourgeois journalism in news packaging.

That is why the developing countries are so actively advocating a new order of dissemination of information in the world, seeking to put a barrier in the way of the flow of tendentious information, which hides the propaganda of bourgeois ideology, politics, and the bourgeois way of life.

The myths of bourgeois journalism are today a weapon in the hands of the forces of reaction, which is manifested both in the propaganda of the political course of the Western countries and in the defense of various anti-people regimes… (…)

The glorification and defense by the bourgeois media of a world built on private property, on the exploitation of man by man, on the dominance of state-monopoly capitalism, is carried out together with the propaganda of anti-communism, nationalism, racism, militarism, money-grubbing, consumerism, individualism, philistinism. All this leads to the decomposition of the human personality, the encouragement of base instincts and passions.

The myths of bourgeois journalism serve the purpose of exploiting the working people not only economically, but also ideologically. The most important factor that really opposes them is the truth of life, which is helped to understand and cognize by the scientific worldview, Marxist-Leninist theory, communist journalism armed with this theory, based on high and truly humanistic ideals.

The struggle against information imperialism, ideological sabotage, and the myths of bourgeois journalism is of great importance today both for strengthening peace and for improving the international atmosphere.

Journalism in Bourgeois Society

The ties between the bourgeois state and the monopolies
are becoming ever closer,
their activities are intertwined, and
this creates a special form of power when
it is in the hands of the state and the monopolies.
One of the important weapons of state-monopoly capitalism
is bourgeois journalism.
It is from this point of view that
it is necessary to consider its place in modern bourgeois society.

Articles are selected from the
Referenced books, prepared by a team of researchers from
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